

FARRUKHABAD:

A GAZETTEER,

BEING

VOLUME IX

OF THE

DISTRICT GAZETTEERS OF THE UNITED
PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

EDITED AND COMPILED

BY

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GAZETTEER OF FARRUKHABAD.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
CHAPTER I.			
Boundaries and area	1	Hindu castes	68
Topography	1	Musalmans	75
Soils	1	Occupations	77
Rivers	5	Language and literature	78
Lakes and pools	9	Proprietary tenures	79
Drainage	10	Proprietors	79
Waste lands	11	Cultivating tenures	84
Groves	13	Rents	86
Minefields	13	Condition of the people	88
Fauna	14		
Cattle	16	CHAPTER IV.	
Climate	18	District staff	90
Health	19	Formation of the district	90
		Local history	90
CHAPTER II.		Alluvial mahals	103
Cultivated area	21	Police and crime	104
Cultivation	26	Jails	107
Double cropping	27	Excise	107
Harvests	28	Income tax	110
Irrigation	33	Registration	111
Famines	42	Post offices	111
Prices	51	Municipality	112
Wages	52	District Board	112
Weights and measures	53	Education	113
Intercourse	54	Hospitals	115
Manufactures	55	Cattle pounds	118
Trade	61		
Markets	58	CHAPTER V.	
Communications	59	History	118
		Directory	177
CHAPTER III.		Appendix	i-xlvi
Population	62	Index	i-iv
Town and villages	65		
Religions	66		

PREFACE.

THIS volume is a revision of the Farrukhabad Gazetteer edited by Mr. Atkinson. Wherever possible, use has been made of the old material. I have to thank a number of Collectors of the district for their collection of new material, especially Mr. C. A. Mumford, I.C.S., whose notes on the Directory were of great service. I am also under great obligations to Mr. A. W. McNair, I.C.S., and to Mr. Jagdish Prasad, I.C.S., for reading through the proofs and making many corrections and emendations.

E R. N.

GAZETTEER OF FARRUKHABAD.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

J. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

J. A. S. B.—*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.*

A. S. R.—*Archaeological Survey Reports.*

E. H. I.—*The History of India, as told by its own
Historians, by Sir H. M. Elliot.*

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL FEATURES.

The district of Farrukhabad is the most easterly of the six which *at present make up the Agra division, and lies along the Ganges which forms the northern and eastern boundary of all the district except the Aligarh tahsil. On the west Farrukhabad marches with the Etah and Mainpuri districts, on the south and south-east with Mathura and Cawnpore, to the east lies Hardoi, and to the north are Shahjahanpur and Budauu. In shape it may be roughly likened to a very irregular parallelogram, situated between latitude $26^{\circ}15'15''$ and $27^{\circ}42'45''$ north, and longitude $79^{\circ}10'47''$ and $80^{\circ}6'$ east. Its maximum length is about 76 miles and its maximum breadth 40 miles. Owing to the action of the Ganges in shifting its bed from year to year the total area is a slightly variable quantity, but the changes caused by the river have not been very extensive for some time past, and the figures of the survey completed in 1901 which gave the area as 1,078,144 acres, or 1684.6 square miles, may be accepted as still sufficiently accurate. It is, of course, only in the Kanauj tahsil and in the northern portion of Kaimganj that the movement of the river affects the district as a whole.

In its general aspect the district is level plain, unbroken by any prominence which could even by courtesy be called a hill and varied only by a few gentle undulations and by the slopes, sometimes gradual and sometimes abrupt, which lead down to the river valleys. The highest recorded elevation is 548 feet above sea-level at Muhammadabad, and the lowest 478 feet at Mau Rasulpur in the trans-Gangetic flats of tahsil Aligarh. The only marked variation of level is between the two divisions into which the district naturally falls—the upland, or *bangar*, which is a continuation of the Duab plain, and the lowland, or

* *Note*.—In the proposed redistribution of divisions it is proposed to attach Farrukhabad to the division.

tarai, cut away from the upland by the erosive action of the rivers.

By far the most important of the two divisions is the upland plain, covering as it does some 1,365 square miles, or 80 per cent. of the total area of the district. It is bounded on the north and east by the Ganges cliff and divided into four sections by the three rivers—the Bagar, the Kali Nadi, and the Isan, which traverse it from west to east. These four watersheds, or *duabs*, resemble one another in general physical characteristics, but their structure is most perfectly exemplified by that between the Kali Nadi and the Isan. Along the bank of each river lies a strip of land of varying width, flooded by the rivers in the rains and corresponding in miniature to the *tarai* lands of the Ganges. From it an abrupt sandy slope, furrowed by ravines, which carry off the surplus drainage, leads up to an undulating strip of firmer sandy soil. Further inland is a belt of loam or *dumat*, and beyond this the ridge of the watershed, a tract of grey saline plain interspersed with oases of cultivation and shallow lakes.

The most northern *duab*, however, between the Ganges cliff and the Bagar differs somewhat from this description. In this tract there is no *usar* and none of the loam found bordering on and among the *usar* in the other *duabs*, but the soil throughout is of a distinct type, yellowish in colour and midway between loam and sand in consistency. On either bank of the Bagar is the common sandy soil. It would therefore perhaps be more correct to regard the Bagar as a subsidiary stream, and to describe the northern *duab* as extending from the Ganges to the Kali Nadi. On this supposition the tract corresponding on the north to the *bhur* tract of the Kali Nadi on the south would be the whole of the tract between the Ganges cliff to the southern limit of the Bagar *bhur*, and thus there would be no great difference between the *duab* to the north of the Kali Nadi and that to the south. South of the Isan, again, the natural features are the same. Along its southern bank is the sandy tract, and to the south of that begin the *dumat* and *usar* plains. On the south-western border the Arind is within the district, but it soon turns off to the south and passes into Cawnpore so that the lower half

of the *duab* lies within that district and only the *dumat* and *usar* portion remains in Farrukhabad.

The lowlands consist of the *tarais* of the rivers already mentioned and of the Ganges, the latter being very much the largest and most important. The boundary between this alluvial tract and the upland is clearly marked by the high ridge which forms or once formed the bank of the Ganges. From Farrukhabad to the village of Ibrahimpur the Ganges still flows under the cliff, but north and south of these points its gradual recession to a more easterly bed has left two strips of alluvial land lying between the old bank and its present course. Of these two tracts which constitute what may be called the western lowlands the northern lies chiefly in the Kaimganj tahsil and resembles, if the term may be used, a bent triangle, curving east and south with the Ganges, from a base in the north-west corner of the district to an apex at Farrukhabad. The breadth of this strip nowhere exceeds seven miles, and its area is about 166 square miles. It finally narrows to a point where the old cliff, its western limit, is again met by the river channel. At Ibrahimpur, six miles to the north of Kanauj, the Ganges again leaves its former course; and between the present bed and the cliff is a tract of lowland about eight square miles in area. The Kali Nadi flows through the northern portion of this and joins the Ganges at Firozpur Katri.

The third and remaining portion of the lowlands is more extensive, covering about 181 square miles. It consists of the three trans-Gangetic parganas of Amritpur, Khakhatmau, and Paramnagar, which form the Aligarh tahsil, and, lying on the east or left bank of the Ganges, are thus separated from the rest of the district. No part of this *tarai* is much above the level of the river floods. When the rains are heavy much of it is covered for two or three days at a time with water which often leaves a deposit of sand behind. Some of the land is subject to constant erosion by the rivers and the assessment of many villages is constantly varying with the varying area, as the rivers devour or cast up the culturable land. The Ganges flows along the western border, and the Ramganga, entering at the north, traverses the east central portion. The two rivers have

numerous tributaries and connecting channels, and the whole surface of the tahsil is thus seamed with watercourses. The Ramganga is the more destructive of the two as it continually changes its bed, while the Ganges confines itself to fairly steady erosion.

Throughout the district the soils are divided into three natural classes of *dumat*, or loam, *matiyar*, or clay, and *bhur*, or sand. But though the same nomenclature is employed for both the upland and the lowland soils they differ greatly in character. In the upland the names have the same meaning as elsewhere in the Duab. *Dumat* is a fertile loam which is soft to the touch when powdered. *Bhur* is a sandy soil, rough to the touch. *Matiyar* is a stiff clay, which ordinarily grows rice in the rains; when dry it splits into fissures and becomes as hard as baked brick. But in the *tarai* the soil is everywhere alluvial, consisting of a stratum of loam of varying thickness more or less intermixed with sand overlying a bed of white river sand. On the quality and depth of this loam stratum depends the class of the soil. Where the admixture of sand is large it ranks as *bhur*, when rice is commonly grown on it it is termed *matiyar*, while in other cases it is classified as *dumat*. In the Ganges *tarai* this layer of loam is generally not more than two to four feet in depth, when it is known as *papur*, but it thickens and improves in quality towards the cliff, receiving in the Kanauj tahsil the special name of *kachohat*. In the *tarai* of the Son and Kali Nadi the loam stratum is usually thicker than the Ganges *papur*, and the Ramganga far surpasses the Ganges both in the richness and depth of its deposit.

For practical purposes, however, this natural division of soils is confined to the outlying lands of the village and the classification in use is based on position and artificial advantages. In each village the land is divided into three classes, known as *gauhan*, *manjha* and *barhet*. *Gauhan* is the central zone immediately adjoining the village site which receives most of the manure and is far the most valuable, from two to three crops being taken off it every year. *Manjha* means the medium land which comprises the bulk of the village, and is further subdivided into *manjha I* and *manjha II*, the former including in an ordinary

village a large proportion of double-cropped fields adjoining the *gauhan* but inferior to it, and in large villages which contain hamlets, the site cultivation of the inferior hamlets which is not up to the *gauhan* standard, while the latter, which is the largest soil class, includes all the good single-cropped land of the village. *Barhet* is the outlying and inferior cultivation. Both *gauhan* and *manjha* are manured, and this fact makes their natural soil composition of little importance. But in the case of *barhet* which is, as a rule, not manured, a field depends for its value entirely on the quality of its natural soil, and is classified accordingly. It will be seen that this artificial differentiation of soils really depends on the rent-paying capacity of the various classes, which may be compared arithmetically in this way. If the rent-paying capacity of *gauhan* in any village be taken as 24, then that of *manjha* I will be represented by 18, that of *manjha* II by 14, while that of *barhet* will range between 10 and 3.

The foregoing description requires some modification in the case of lowland villages. In these while *gauhan* is always, and *manjha* I often, manured, this is scarcely ever the case with *manjha* II, which has only been kept as a distinct class by analogy with the upland villages. The rent-paying capacity of the different classes in a lowland village may be proportionately represented as *gauhan* 24, *manjha* I 20, *manjha* II 16, and *barhet* 10 to 5.

The principal rivers and streams of the district are the Ganges, the Ramganga, the Kali Nadi, the Isan, the Burhganga or old Ganges, the Bagar, the Pandu, and the Rand or Arind. Of these the four first are alone perennial, the rest being mere channels for the escape of surplus drainage and ceasing to flow soon after the close of the monsoon.

The Ganges first skirts the northern frontier of the district, separating it from Budaun and Shahjahanpur. But near the point where the three parganas of Kampil, Shamsabad West and Amritpur meet, the river turns southward through the district, dividing the Aligarh tahsil from the main body. It again emerges on the frontier opposite to the village of Singhirampur and flowing first south east and then south forms the boundary between Farrukhabad

and Hardoi. All the other streams in the district are tributary to the Ganges, though the Ramganga and the Arind join it beyond the border. The only places of any importance on the modern bank are Kusumkhor and Daipur. Patehgarh is now two miles distant from the deep stream, but a considerable body of water still flows beneath it in the rainy season.* Farrukhabad is the same distance from Ghatiya ghāt, the landing-place at which boats bringing cargo for that city unload. But along the high ridge which formed the original bank of the river are found many of the most important towns and villages. Such are the ancient cities of Kanauj, Kampil, Sherasabad, Chul-ara and Kaimganj. Though the Ganges is constantly changing its course its movements from side to side are for the most part slow and gradual with a tendency to continue in one direction for many years together. After abandoning Kanauj for some centuries it now seems likely once more to flow under the walls of that town, its present course being about half-way between its bed of thirty years ago and the old high bank. The Ganges is crossed by numerous ferries, a list of which is given in the Appendix, and, in the dry season, by a bridge of boats at Ghatiya ghāt on the Bareilly road. In the rains this is broken up and a ferry takes its place.

Of the tributaries of the Ganges the most important is the Ramganga. Entering the district from Shahjahanpur, this river flows through parganas Amrirpur and Khakhatman into Hardoi, joining the Ganges opposite Ibrahimpur in the Kanauj tahsil. On its sandy and yielding banks, subject as they are to the constant ravages of the river in the rains, no large village is situated. When swollen by rains the Ramganga frequently floods for days the lowlands through which it passes, and on the subsiding of the inundation is often found to have carved out for itself some fresh channel or to have left behind it a sterile deposit of sand. There is moreover a network of smaller channels which fill during the rains and connect the waters of the Ganges and the Ramganga. The principal of these channels are known by the names of the Nasa, the Itapiya, the Nadiya, the Charniya and the

* Since the above was written the main stream appears to be flowing beneath the cliff on which the courts and many bungalows stand

Katniya The two former flow out of the Ramganga, the three latter from the Ganges. But they are all so connected with each other that when the Ramganga is in flood and the Ganges is not, the Nasa fills and carries its waters to the Ganges; and when the opposite is the case the Charniya fills and carries the Ganges water to the Ramganga. In addition to these there are several backwaters or side-channels (*sota*), which rejoin their parent streams after a short parallel or rapidly curving course. Unlike the Ganges, the Ramganga is liable to sudden and complete changes of course and wanders over miles of country, capriciously carving out new beds for itself and again leaving them without warning or apparent reason. The Bareilly road is carried over the Ramganga, as over the Ganges, by a bridge of boats in the dry season and by a ferry in the rains. A list of the ferries will be found in the Appendix.

Next in size of the perennial streams is the Kali Nadi, which, rising in Muzaffarnagar, first touches this district at the ancient village of Sankisa in Shamsabad East. Flowing along the border of that pargana for some ten miles it forms the border between Farrukhabad and Mainpuri. It then passes within the district, running east-south-eastward, and near Singhirampur approaches to within a mile of the Ganges. At this point, after the serious floods of 1838, a cutting was made connecting the Kali Nadi with the Ganges to act as an escape for its waters and prevent a recurrence of that calamity. The main stream, which used, after passing through the Ganges cliff, to skirt the foot of it and not join the Ganges till it reached a point some four miles south of Kanauj, now flows directly into that river at Firozpur Katri. During its course through the district the Kali Nadi is crossed by two bridges, one on a branch of the Grand Trunk Road leading from Rewar to Fatehgarh, and the other on a second branch of the same road leading from Guisahaiganj to Fatehgarh, the latter being used both for the railway and for ordinary traffic. There are also several ferries, a list of which will be found in the appendix. The Kali Nadi is also known locally as the Kalindri and Kalini, and is the *Ab-i-siyah* or Blackwater of some Musalman chroniclers. In the Ramayana it is named Ikshumati, and by Megasthenes the Oxumatis. The Kali Nadi was formerly much

used for irrigating *istrazai* but since the floods of 1838 the bed of the river has deepened, and where before only one lift was required to raise the water to the level of the *tarai* three are now necessary, and the increased cost limits the area irrigated. There is an artificial channel, now dry, leading from the Ganges to the Kali Nadi at the point where the two rivers most nearly approach one another. It is called the Khanta Nala, and is said to have been dug some 300 years ago by one Makand Rai Koyasth, Subadar of Kananj, with the motive of recalling the holy waters of the Ganges to their ancient course under the walls of Kananj. This purpose was not accomplished, the Ganges refusing to enter the channel except when in flood, at which times it deposited so much silt in the lower Kali Nadi that in 1851 a dam was made across the Khanta Nala by the Irrigation Department. This proved effective till 1857 when the abnormal flood in the Kali Nadi topped the dam and washed it away. It was then decided not to renew the dam as, when the Kali Nadi was in high flood and the Ganges in moderate flood, it shut off the escape into the Ganges and intensified the floods in the lower Kali Nadi, heading them up far above the level of the Ganges flood.

The only other permanent stream is the river *Jam*, which in its course through the district divides the taluils of Chhibraman and Kananj from that of Tirwa passing on into Cawnpore. It is crossed during the rains by ferries near Tirwa on the road from Talgram to Tirwa, and near Thattia on the road from Kananj to Thattia. At other seasons of the year it is easily fordable and no necessity for a ferry exists.

Of the intermittent streams the first to be mentioned is the *Buddh* or *Burhganga*, which, as its name denotes, flows in an old bed, or rather old beds, of the Ganges. These are identical almost as far east as Gaugpur, two and a half miles north of Kampil. But at that point one channel, which is undoubtedly the more modern of the two, turns due north and runs into the Ganges; while the other and older branch flows eastward, at a distance of from half a mile to two miles from the cliff, to join the great river near Azizabad, six miles east of Shamsabad. The latter channel is very much the shallower, and contains hardly anywhere large pools of water. Its depression is so little and

has been silting up for so long that in places it may be passed unnoticed.

Entering the district from Etah, the Bagar traverses Shamsabad West, and then, turning to the south-west, joins the Ganges under the old town of Bhojpur. It carries off a large body of water during the rains, but rapidly falls and runs dry when they cease. Its bed used formerly to be cultivated in many places for the spring harvest, but since the construction of the Fatehgarh branch of the Lower Ganges Canal it has been utilised by the Irrigation Department as an escape for canal water. Till within the last few miles of its course the river's banks are low and so gradually sloping as in places to be barely noticeable when the stream has departed. In its course it is crossed by two masonry bridges: one about five miles west of Fatehgarh, on the branch of the Grand Trunk Road connecting that place with Bewar; the other at nearly the same distance to the south on the branch from Fatehgarh to Gursahaiganj.

The Paudu has in this district a course of some eight miles only. It enters from Etawah, and passes through the southern villages of the Tirwa tahsil into the Cawnpore district. The Arund flows out of the Mainpuri district through Sakrawa and along the southern border of Sakatpur into Etawah.

The total area returned at survey as covered by water in this district is 44,579 acres. This figure includes the area occupied by the rivers, but a good deal of it is accounted for by the large and numerous stretches of water found among the usar plains. These occur mostly in pargana Shamsabad East and in the Chhibraman and Tirwa tahsils. Talgram means "the village of ponds"; and the pargana named after that village, in Chhibraman, contains no less than eight large *ghils*. Such lakes depend for their supply of water on the rains, and are, in fact, simple accumulations of surface drainage which can find no outlet and collect in depressions. During the rains their overflowings are carried off along shallow watercourses which later on in the year could hardly be detected were not their moist beds often marked with bright green crops of rice or wheat. Indeed, the most important rice lands of the district, those in the south of Tirwa, all lie along the course of the drainage lines

which remove the flood water from the central plains of the tahsil. What may be called the two great systems of *jhils* are those of the watershed between the Kali Nadi and the Tsan, and of the plains south of the Tsan which comprise the Tirwa tahsil. They consist of a series of lagoons which, even at their lowest, include a large expanse of swamp and water. These *jhils* are widely utilized for irrigation, the water being carried along artificial channels, sometimes to great distances, and applied to the field with the aid of the *bheri* or swinging basket. The fringe of land surrounding the *jhils*, flooded only when the waters are at their highest, is sown with rice, which is sometimes followed by a crop of barley, where the soil remains moist enough to admit of its being ploughed for that purpose. Among the most important *jhils* are those around the village of Nigoh, a little to the west of Chhilanman, and those in the neighbourhood of Talgram. Of the latter the Bhaglat Ambar has an area of 49 acres; the Bholani, near Baroli, of 69; the Amwani at Pangawan, of 68; the Deha, in the same village, of 32, the Kuint at Tera Hala, of 234; the Rachel at Taulaganman, of 38; the Bholani at Rohih, of 81; and the Dmdar at Narnan of 208. In pargana Tirwa are the important *jhils* of Lakh, Bahosi, Majhla Umandah, Sukhi, Agboh, Phozpur, and Sanda.

The foregoing pages will have given some idea of the general drainage system of the district. The Gangos is the main drain into which all the rivers fall with a general course from west to east, the smaller drainage channels in their turn running generally north and south from the watersheds of the rivers. But, complete and simple as this system is, it is very imperfect in its action owing to the flat surface of the country and the consequently tortuous and sluggish current of the streams. In the north, the Barhgariga, on which the northern portion of Kaimganj mainly depends for the removal of superfluous rain-water, flows or rather stagnates in a winding bed choked with weeds. In dry weather for a great part of its course it is no more than a string of pools which in heavy rains expand into lagoons and flood the neighbouring lands. Further south, the Bagar with its sinuous channel and shallow bed is naturally incapable of carrying off the water which flows into it. The

Kal Nadi and the Tsan are better fitted to act as outlets for the collected drainage of their neighbourhood, but both, and the Kali Nadi in particular, are liable to sudden and dangerous floods, such as that of 1885, when every bridge on the Kali from Nadrai in the Etah district to the Ganges was carried away. Owing to the height of the banks the devastation caused by such floods is fortunately confined to the river valley itself, but there it is very great. Owing to the small capacity of the drainage channels every depression in the upland tends to hold up the rain water which falls into it and can find no escape. This circumstance accounts for the number of *jhils* and gives rise, in years when the rainfall is greater than the ordinary, to very general swamping of the lands in their vicinity and serious saturation of the subsoil. Since the series of wet years which culminated in 1886, when such widespread and terrible damage was caused to the district by floods, a great deal has been done to improve the natural imperfections of the drainage which have just been described. More particular accounts of the schemes carried out will be found in the paragraphs dealing with the canals with which those drains are connected. But in general it may be said that the channels of the Burhganga and Bagar have been dug deeper and bends in their courses cut across, thus affording a more ample and easy way of escape for the drainage that falls into them. Cuts have been dug leading from such of the *jhils* and depressions as have been shown by experience to be liable to develop into extensive swamps in wet weather, and the surplus water which formerly collected in them is thus enabled to find its way into the natural drainage lines. The new drains have not yet been severely tested, but there is good reason to believe that they have effected a very real improvement and that disasters on such a scale as those of 1887 and 1888 need not be apprehended in the future.

According to the returns of the recent survey the unculturable waste land of the district amounts to 151,072 acres, or 14 per cent. of the whole area. This shows a remarkable diminution since the last settlement, when the barren waste was shown as forming 22 per cent. of the entire district. This decrease is, however, not due to any extension of cultivation but merely to a

new principle of classification and a somewhat optimistic view of the cultivable possibilities of certain kinds of *usar* land. The result of this has been that land capable of growing any kind of vegetation has been classified as culturable waste, and the area under that head has been swelled from 9,744 acres to 143,697. From the 14 per cent. which is left considerable deductions have to be made before the actual area of the land which is regarded as utterly incapable of cultivation can be arrived at. For this figure includes 11,579 acres which are covered with water, and 14,147 acres which are occupied by village sites. When these have been deducted the hopelessly barren area remaining amounts to only 92,816 acres, or 8.5 per cent. of the district. Of this area a certain amount consists of sterile sand, but by far the greater part is occupied by the extensive *usar* plains which form so conspicuous a feature of the central watersheds of the upland. These plains are infected and sterilized by the saline efflorescence known as *sal*, which is also found in the low-land under the name of *blutti*. This efflorescence, which imparts to the worst *usar* plains their characteristic white appearance, is composed of certain salts of sodium, principally the carbonate, and is always found concentrated in the first few inches of surface soil. The reclamation of this *usar* land has formed the subject of numerous experiments, but no certain or inexpensive remedy for the local excess of sodium seems yet to have been devised. It is stated that complete success has been obtained by the application of gypsum, but this method is scarcely applicable on a large scale. Another plan is to enclose land from grazing and by thus encouraging the growth of grass, to cause the sodium salts to descend from the surface and diffuse themselves in the subsoil. This, however, is a very slow process, and the experiments have not yet been carried on sufficiently long for it to be known whether the plan is one of general practical utility. Plantations of trees, particularly the *baobab*, can be made with success on *usar* land, but it has yet to be seen whether the land will be fit to bear crops after the trees have been removed. *Usar* differs very much in the degree to which it is impregnated with sodium, but it will nearly always grow grass, at least in patches and these plains

provide the Ahn and Gadanya herdsmen with their chief grazing-grounds. The question of the degree to which the canals are responsible for the spread of *reh* is one upon which opinions differ widely. In the canal-irrigated portions of the district, especially in the Kaimganj tahsil, the villagers complain that *reh* has increased seriously since the introduction of canal water, and it is possible that this is to some extent true, as though canal water does not actually increase the quantity of *reh* in any given field it brings it to the surface, and there is a danger that the strong west winds or careless flooding will carry this surface *reh* into fields not before affected.

Though Farrukhabad contains no natural forests beyond some scattered patches of *dhak* jungle the number and extent of its artificial plantations give it an exceptionally well-wooded appearance. No less than 35,109 acres, or 3.22 per cent. of the total area, are planted with groves, an exceptionally high proportion in these provinces, and this area, large as it is, continues to expand, about one-tenth of it representing additions since the last settlement. The different parts of the district differ widely in the extent to which they are planted with trees. Along the old Ganges cliff, where the soil is poor and so furrowed with ravines as to be ill-adapted for agriculture, the proportion of the land which is under groves is very large, rising to 6.43 per cent. in the Kanauj pargana, while in Bhojpur and Pahara the percentage is 5.85 and 4.02 respectively. In the lowlands on the other hand, subject as they are to annual inundations which may, in the neighbourhood of the Ramganga at any rate, change the whole face of the country, all the conditions are adverse to the planting of groves, and in the trans-Gangetic parganas only 1.23 per cent. of the area is occupied by trees.

Farrukhabad, like the neighbouring districts of the Doab, is not rich in mineral products. Stone for building purposes has to be imported from outside, and costs from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8-0 per cubic foot. But the limestone conglomerate known as *kankar*, which is found all over the upland, acts as an efficient substitute when found in the form of block *kankar*. In the nodular form called *bichua* it is only used for road metal and for producing lime. In either form it is found in strata averaging from six to

eighteen inches in thickness and varying in colour from gray to blue. The principal quarries are at Ukhra, Mannapur, Girwa, Rathaura, Ramzanapur, Talgram, Saraiyan, and Khalla, and the average cost of *kankar* delivered at Farrukhabad is Rs. 9 per 100 cubic feet. *Kankar* lime costs Rs. 25 per 100 cubic feet, while stone lime, which is imported from Banda, is very much more expensive. Brick earth is found in many places, and the resources of the district are ample to meet the local demand. Three sizes of bricks are in ordinary use: the *guma*, 12" \times 6" \times 3"; the *pharra*, 9" \times 4" \times 2", and the *lakhuri*, 5" \times 1" \times 1". Of these the largest sell at the rate of Rs. 10 per thousand, and are chiefly used for Government buildings. The *pharra* bricks which cost Rs. 8 per 1,000 are largely used for native masonry, but the bricks most generally in demand for the latter are the *lakhuri*, which cost Rs. 4 per 1,000. In the villages, however, the sun-dried bricks, which sell for Rs. 2 per 1,000, are usually employed. For the better class of town houses Allahabad tiles, costing Rs. 12 per 100 square feet, are used. Country tiles, made in the district, can be had in the same quantity for Rs. 3, and suffice for most buildings. Of the timbers used in building the commoner kinds, such as *mango* and *nim*, can be obtained in any quantity locally from Rs. 1 per cubic foot, but the better kinds like *sal* and *agrot*, which grow only in the Sub-Himalayan forests, have to be brought down the Ganges and cost from Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 4 per cubic foot, being obtained ready sawn into beams and scantlings from Bahramghat in the Bara Banki district. Corrugated iron sheets and other iron work are imported from Calcutta and Bombay, and the cost of the sheeting in Farrukhabad is Rs. 25 per 100 square feet.

Times are altered since, in 1863, tigers were shot in the wild country surrounding the ruins of old Kanauj, and the only representatives of the large carnivora now to be found in the district are a few wolves and hyenas, for whose destruction rewards are offered at the rate of Rs. 3 for a full-grown female wolf, Rs. 2 for a full-grown male, and Rs. 2 for a hyena. The few remaining patches of *dhak* jungle harbour an occasional blue bull or *nilgai* (*boselaphus tragocamelus*); the *usar* plains are frequented by herds of black buck, and wild pig abound in the Ganges

and Ramganga *khadir*. But though these are the only kinds of large game still to be met with in the district, there is no scarcity of the smaller kinds, the numerous and extensive *jhils* being frequented during the cold weather by snipe and waterfowl of every variety.

The local fish may be divided into two classes. those which are generally caught in lakes and ponds, though also found in rivers, and those found in rivers only. To the former class belong the *sing*, *mungru*, *naren* and *sawnri* or *sunwariga*. All are "sown," as the expression is, by Kahars, who keep a few fish of these kinds in a small pond near their house, and at the beginning of the rains transplant the spawn to the tanks or lagoons which they rent from the landholders. The other fish found in tanks are the *luchi* or *parhin*, *bhur*, *ratiya* or *rotuma*, which are common, the *bhudda*, *bosna*, *danth*, *chul* and *mukla*, which are more rare, and three kinds of eels. the *bam*, *gend*, and *nanwas*. In the Ganges and other rivers are found the *parhasi*, *rohu*, carp, *dighar*, *bachua*, *gangwar*, *putia* (a flat fish), *murwara* or mullet, *jhinga*, or prawns, and the *ghunghurra* or *pathar chata*, popularly supposed to live on stones and mud. There is also a river crab found in the muddy margins of the Burhganga pools which is considered a delicacy.

In very shallow water, and when, as often happens in the rains, small fry are left by the subsiding floods in little pools, the fish are caught by hand. But in ordinary circumstances there are three appliances of which the local fishermen make use: the *khancha*, the *dhewar*, and the *buhrya jal*. The *khancha* is a cone-shaped funnel, woven generally of *arhar* stalks. Wide and open at the bottom, it contains at the top an orifice only sufficiently large to admit of the insertion of the arm. Where the water is sufficiently shallow this funnel is dropped into it and thrust well into the muddy bottom, the fish caught within it being extracted by hand through the opening at the top. The *dhewar* is a bag-shaped net attached to two bamboos, united so as to form two sides of a triangle. Taking hold of the bamboos the fisherman pushes the net along the bottom to the bank and thus intercepts the fish. The *buhrya jal* is an ordinary draught net, deriving its name from the fact that it is weighted

below a thin one of 1 (and 1 1/2) is used as floats. This is only employed in rivers where there is a large and deep body of water. The fishermen are chiefly Kahars, who as a rule follow some other pursuit in addition. The number of persons who live exclusively by fishing is very small.

There is a considerable demand for fish in the district, as it forms part of the dietary of nearly all classes. The only castes forbidden by their tenets to eat fish are the Khatris, the Agarwalas and other Banias, the Gaur Brahmans, and the Saraogis or Jains. The price of fish varies with the size and quality, small pond fish, such as *bhar*, selling at an anna the seer, while the *sug*, the *mangri* and *sunawriya*, the more delicate of the pond fish, and large river fish like the *ricku*, cost from 3 to 4 annas the seer.

Farrukhabad contains no breeds of cattle peculiar to itself, the animals in ordinary use being of the small interior type met with throughout the Duah. These are the casual progeny of the dedicated Brahmani bulls and the village cows, no attempt being made to supervise their breeding or to influence the selection. For draught purposes larger breeds like the Mewati, Kosi and Barmann are imported, mainly from the annual fair at Makanpur in the Cawnpore district, which is the great source of supply for this part of the country, but the ordinary home-bred cattle suffice for the various operations of agriculture. The average price for plough-bullocks ranges from fifteen rupees to forty, but for the arduous labour of well-irrigation stronger animals, fetching higher prices, are required.

The first regular cattle census was taken in 1899, when it was found that there were in the district 186,541 bulls and bullocks and 19,456 male buffaloes, giving a total of 206,000 plough animals. There were at the same time 67,489 ploughs, and the average number of cattle to each plough was thus 2.36, a figure just below the provincial average of 2.38. The number of cows was 100,434, while there were 67,918 cow buffaloes and 158,795 head of young stock. The next census was held 5 years later in 1904, and it was then found that while the number of plough cattle had increased to 234,077 the number of ploughs had also risen to 100,017, and the average number of cattle to

each plough had thus fallen to 2.34. At the same time the number of young stock had increased by over 21,000 and now stood at 180,370, and a satisfactory increase had taken place also in cows and cow buffaloes, the respective figures being 101,243 and 75,624. The third and most recent census was held in 1909 and showed a remarkable decrease all round, which is probably to be explained by the severe fodder famine of 1905-06. Plough cattle had fallen in number to 194,684 and ploughs to 88,738, the average number of animals per plough being now only 2.20. Young stock had fallen back nearly to the figure at which they stood ten years earlier, and now only numbered 164,113, and there were 77,024 cows and 82,871 cow buffaloes, the latter being the only head under which an increase was returned. The average plough duty, which in 1899 was 6.5 acres, or one acre below the provincial average, remained practically stationary in 1904 in spite of a large increase of cultivation, but rose to 7.6 acres in 1909.

The number of horses and ponies in the district has shown a steady decrease at each census and is now 14,708 or over two thousand less than ten years ago. Little care or attention is bestowed on horse-breeding and it is carried on quite unmethodically, such of the zamindars as keep mares troubling themselves but little in the selection of sires. The colts too are generally put to work when much too young, and the common stamp of pony is consequently undersized and weedy. A better class of animal is imported by the wealthier members of the community from the horse fairs at Batesar and other places in the neighbouring districts.

The numbers of both sheep and goats have diminished during the last five years, and this decrease is no doubt due, like that of the cattle, to the famine of 1905-06. In 1904 there were 43,092 sheep and 211,874 goats, while in 1909 those totals had fallen to 40,083 and 175,003. The scanty amount of manure at the cultivator's disposal is very usefully supplemented by penning a herd of sheep and goats on his fields, and the Gadariya herdsmen also derive a considerable profit from the sale of the milk and flesh, and, in the case of the sheep, from the wool. The average price of a sheep is Rs. 3 while a milch goat will fetch

Horse
and
mulesOther
domestic
animals

from P to R 12. The donkeys, of which there were 5,438 in 1909, are of the usual diminutive type and are mostly used to carry their loads by the Bhobis and Kunhars. There were only 174 mules and 348 camels, these animals being in little demand for transport purposes.

The diseases which commonly attack cattle are rinderpest and foot and mouth disease. The first is known when slight as *ch-chak*, and when malignant as *bedam*; the second being termed *khurpaki*. Serious epidemics are not common, but either disease when contracted usually proves fatal. Three veterinary assistants are maintained by the district board and their services are given gratuitously when required. But hitherto the ignorance and apathy of the people have prevented any general adoption of the practice of preventive inoculation.

The climate of the upland portion of Farrukhabad has always enjoyed the reputation of being one of the healthiest in the Doab, but the lowlands, especially the Aligarh taluk, are notoriously feverish and unhealthy. The cold weather begins later than in the more western districts, and may be said to last from the end of October to the end of March. During this period the air is dry and wholesome and the nights are cold, slight frosts being not uncommon. The winter rains normally fall about January, and when they are over a raw and dusty west wind sets in, sometimes bringing clouds which result in mischievous hailstorms. This wind continues almost without intermission throughout the summer, growing hotter as the year advances, until in April it has developed into the fiery *loo*. During May and June, which are the hottest months, the mean temperature for the twenty-four hours is usually well over 100°, though the atmosphere is occasionally cooled by the slight showers that sometimes accompany a duststorm. With the breaking of the monsoon at the end of June or in early July the temperature falls, the hot west wind ceases to blow, and the intense dryness of the summer air is changed to a close and oppressive dampness which continues till the rains cease in September. In the trans-Gangetic lowlands the heat of summer is less parchingly dry than in the upland, and in the rains the whole country is flooded, the villages rising out of the water like islands in a muddy sea.

Records of the district rainfall are available for the Farukhabad tahsil since 1861, and for the other tahsils from 1864 onwards, a rain-gauge being maintained at each tahsil headquarters. These records show that the average for the whole district is 32.44 inches and that the local variation between tahsil and tahsil is insignificant. On the other hand, the fluctuations for the whole district from year to year are remarkably great, ranging from 49.88 in 1894 to 12.93 inches in 1868, and the years in which anything approaching very close to the average has been received are comparatively few. But provided that the excess or defect is not extreme the distribution of the fall is more important than the quantity, and the district agriculture will not suffer though the amount of rain received be considerably below the normal if the showers are well diffused over the whole season and the intervals between them are not too prolonged. Excessive rain is a far more serious danger in this district but is not necessarily disastrous unless the falls come very late in the season. In the period between 1884 and 1888 the rainfall was abnormally heavy, the annual average for the five years being 41.73 inches, and was protracted till an unusually late date, with the result that great and lasting damage was done to large areas, necessitating remissions of revenue on a considerable scale and, finally, a modification of the settlement. If, again, the total annual fall sinks below 20 inches, the harvest is bound to suffer, and years like 1868, 1877, 1896 and 1905, when the falls were respectively 12.93, 16.36, 14.89, and 14.58 inches, have been years of scarcity if not of famine.

The healthiness or otherwise of the district can be best judged by an examination of the vital statistics. Records of the deaths have been maintained since 1872, but the imperfect system of registration vitiated the correctness of the figures for the earlier years, and much reliance cannot be placed upon their accuracy before 1881. During the ten years from 1881—1890 the average death-rate per mille was 36.80, the annual figures ranging from 31.26 in 1882 to 47.24 in 1884, a year in which fever was most unusually prevalent, owing to the abnormal rains. While an epidemic of small-pox was also raging. During the

next decade the average dropped to 35.17, and the figures for individual years illustrate in a remarkable way the disastrous effect of a heavy rainfall on this district. During the first three dry years of the decade the mortality fell steadily, reaching in 1893 its lowest point 25.59; but in the wet season of 1894 it leapt up to 46.39 owing to epidemics of fever and cholera, falling again in the following dry year to 29.27. During the famine year of 1897 fever was again prevalent and an outbreak of small-pox of some severity also occurred, raising the annual death-rate to 43.12. During the last eight years the average mortality has been as high as 48.08 per mille, but this abnormal figure is mainly due to the advent of plague, which first visited the district in 1902, and the malaria epidemic of 1908. The worst year in the period was 1908, when the deaths per thousand were 71.45, over 60 per mille being caused by fever. The increasing death-rate has been accompanied by a rise in the number of births, the annual average being 46.21 per mille for the last eight years as against 41.34 between 1891 and 1900, and the births are generally well in excess of the deaths, the only occasions on which the proportions have been reversed having been the famine years of 1897 and 1905, the wet season of 1894, and the years 1901, 1907 and 1908, when the ravages of plague and fever were experienced in a peculiarly severe form. The returns of births and deaths for each year from 1891 onwards will be found in the appendix.

Another table shows the principal causes of death and the mortality resulting from each during the same period. But as in the vast majority of instances the ultimate responsibility for the diagnosis rests with the village *chaukidar* the figures are to be received with some caution. Fever heads the list as in most districts, the term including not only ordinary malaria but all diseases of which fever is the predominant symptom, and was responsible during the ten years from 1881 to 1890 for 86.47 per cent. of the total deaths, the percentage rising during the next decade to 89.49. The fall to 74.76 per cent. during the last seven years has been due not to any diminution of fever but to the great loss of life arising from the plague. The lowlying and swampy Aligarh tahsil is the most feverish part of the district and as such as it mostly is to annual inundation there

little hope of permanently remedying the sanitary conditions by drainage, so that it is only from the more general use of quinine that any great reduction in the death-rate is to be expected. The drug is sold at all post-offices and by vaccinators in pice packets, and is also distributed free of charge by the district board in seasons of epidemic. But the sales are at present small, great difficulty being experienced in persuading the people of the efficacy of this as of most other western medical innovations.

Though epidemics of cholera occur from time to time, Fariukhabad is as a rule fairly free from the disease, and in ordinary years the number of deaths caused by it is small. In only eight years out of the last 27 has the death-rate exceeded 100 while in eight of the remainder it was below 10. Serious outbreaks in 1885 and 1887, when 2,416 and 3,336 persons perished, brought the average annual mortality for the ten years ending in 1890 up to 649, and in the next decade a terrible epidemic in 1894 carried off 4,412 of the population. During the closing years of the 19th century there was a lull, 1898 being conspicuous by the complete disappearance of the disease, but the present century opened with a serious outbreak which claimed 1,613 victims. In the next year it once more disappeared, only one death being reported, and since then it has done but little damage, the average death-rate from 1901 to 1908 inclusive being only 256.

Another disease which, though nearly always present, varies greatly in the severity of its visitations, is small-pox, and the annual returns are in this case of particular interest as testifying to the effects of vaccination. During the first nine years for which figures are available, from 1873 to 1880, the average annual mortality from this disease was 1,418, and this figure, high as it is, is in all probability below the mark, as, owing to the imperfect methods of registration, numbers of deaths were not recorded. During the next decade, in spite of a severe epidemic in 1883 which carried off 3,503 persons, and others of less virulence in 1884 and 1890, the average fell to 813, while the last ten years of the century saw a further drop to 149. In 1901 not a single death was reported and from that year till 1908 the death rate

has only averaged 120. There can be no doubt whatever that this progressive decrease has been caused by the steady extension of the operations of the vaccination department. Up to 1880 the number of vaccinations performed annually averaged under 12,000. During the next decade there was a slight improvement, but after 1890 a remarkable change was effected and from that time onwards some 22,000 persons have been vaccinated every year. Some 17 per cent. of the population have thus been protected during the last seven years and the immunity conferred may be measured by the decrease in the ravages of the disease. The operations are carried on under the supervision of the Civil Surgeon, subordinate to whom is a staff of 15 vaccinators maintained at an annual cost of Rs. 1,800.

With the exception of plague the other diseases returned in the tables are of small importance. Bowel complaints, such as dysentery and diarrhoea, are responsible for a small but fairly regular mortality every year, while various common ailments such as influenza and pneumonia are probably usually returned under the head of fever, owing to their most apparent symptom. Plague made its first appearance in 1902, and in that year its ravages were comparatively slight, only 156 deaths being caused. But in the following year the mortality rose to 1,030 and continued to increase till it reached its maximum in 1905, when 10,571 deaths were reported. In the following year it died down, but in 1907 Farrukhabad suffered more severely than any other district in the division, losing 10,215 of its population from this cause. In the city of Farrukhabad the disease raged with peculiar fury, the mortality amounting to 37.71 per mille. The two measures upon which reliance is now principally placed in the campaign against plague are inoculation and evacuation; and though in this district, as in all others, considerable difficulty was at first experienced in convincing the people of the efficacy of these precautions, it would seem that their former prejudices are at last weakening. At the first appearance of dead rats in a village, that unmistakable warning of a visit of the disease, the inhabitants now lose no time in evacuating their houses; and while in 1907 only 69 persons allowed themselves to be inoculated,

in the following year the number rose to 1,091. In the same year the mortality fell to 829.

Statistics relating to bodily infirmities have been collected at every census since 1872, and show the numbers afflicted with insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness, and leprosy. The fluctuations from period to period are remarkable and the correctness of the returns is open to some doubt. The number of insane persons was in 1872 recorded as 140; in 1891 they had fallen to 106, but during the next decade had risen again to 215, or more than double. The deaf-mutes, of whom there were 151 in 1872, numbered 467 in 1891, and only 290 in 1901. There has been a steady decrease in the number of blind persons in this as in most other districts of the provinces, due in all probability to improved medical treatment, and only 1,213 were enumerated in 1901, a smaller total than that returned by any other district of the division. Leprosy, on the other hand, would seem to be on the increase, as 193 lepers were enumerated in the district in 1901 as against 112 in 1891. This is contrary to the experience of the provinces as a whole, each census showing a marked and regular decrease in the numbers suffering from this disease. The disproportion between the numbers of the two sexes afflicted with infirmities is worthy of note and indicates concealment. Of the district total of 1,911 no less than 1,175 are males, and the male lepers outnumber the female by more than two to one.

Infirmities.

CHAPTER II.

AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

The first survey of the whole district of which the results are on record was that made between the years 1833 and 1839. The total cultivated area then amounted to 541,141 acres, or 49·1 per cent. of the total area. But, owing to the number of years occupied by this survey, which included the famine of 1837, some parganas were measured when prosperous and some when in a very distressed condition, and the figures for the whole district are consequently somewhat misleading. At the next survey, which preceded the revision of the settlement in 1845, the total cultivation had increased to 581,049 acres, or 53 per cent. of the district. Yet this revision was undertaken on account of the severe agricultural depression prevailing, and at a time when a great deal of land which had formerly been under the plough had been temporarily thrown out of cultivation. It is probable that little reliance should be placed on the accuracy of either of these early surveys and they are of little use except as affording an approximate basis of comparison with later figures. The survey which preceded the sixth settlement was much more accurate and valuable, and shows a great advance in agricultural development, the area under the plough having risen to 641,051 acres, or 58·9 per cent. of the total area of the district. But at the time the survey was made the district was more prosperous than it had ever been. A succession of favourable seasons had checked the growth of *kane*, and in the precarious tracts large areas that had long lain fallow were being tilled. In spite of a series of bad seasons, which began in 1877 and necessitated some reductions of revenue, it was not till 1885 that any serious deterioration set in. Between 1881 and 1885 the average cultivation was 631,379 acres; but after the latter year a rapid decrease began and for 11 years between 1888 and 1899 cultivation varied generally between

550,000 and 570,000 acres, the actual minimum being 504,976 acres in 1896-97. The district had been crippled by the wet seasons, and with a cycle of dry years and high prices it began to recover, and cultivation revived. The figures prepared at the survey between 1898 and 1901 returned the cultivated area at 615,266 acres; but there is every reason to believe that in the deteriorated villages the landholders were then deliberately restricting cultivation, with a view to obtaining lighter assessments. In the year 1901-02, immediately after the completion of the survey, the area under the plough rose to 633,477 acres; in the following year it was 650,282 acres, and in 1903-04 it was 666,340 acres. This advance is still continuing. In 1908 the cultivated area was 682,333 acres, the maximum yet attained; while the average for the last four years has been 669,080 acres, or 62.06 per cent. of the total area of the district. Taking the averages of the last four years, Kanauj is at present the tahsil with the highest proportion of cultivation, 69.1 per cent. of its total area being returned as under the plough. Next in order come: Chhibramau with 68.1, Farrukhabad with 66.4, Kaimganj with 63.7, Aligarh with 60.4, and Tirwa with 51.7 per cent. In the last tahsil the hopelessly barren area is unusually large, amounting to 22.1 per cent. of the whole, or nearly twice that of Kanauj.

It is probable that the limit of profitable cultivation has now been nearly, if not quite reached in this district, at all events until the discovery of some cheap and practicable method of reclaiming *usar* land. There is, however, a very large area classified at the survey as culturable though not cultivated. Taking the average for the four years ending in 1908, this area amounted to 239,076 acres. From this total sundry deductions have to be made. Groves occupy 34,329 acres; new fallow, left untilled in the course of the ordinary system of rotation, covers 30,619 acres; while 377 acres are accounted for by land prepared for sugarcane but not yet under a crop. There remain therefore 173,751 acres, of which 46,897 acres consist of old fallow, land which has at one time been under the plough but has been abandoned for various reasons. A great deal of this land has recently been taken into cultivation, the returns

of the 1862 act 1 m 1 1 howing 50 123 acres under this head. The residue of 128,312 acres is 'barren' cultivable waste and its area has been enormously swollen in the recent survey by a new principle of classification. All land which is capable of growing any form of vegetation is now treated as cultivable, and large tracts of thick jungle and the best quality of soil have been included. At the previous settlement of the interpretation of the term cultivable was much stricter and only 9741 acres were shown in this category, the remainder being regarded as hopelessly barren.

The method of agriculture pursued in Mirrakhail possesses no peculiar features, but resembles for the most part that of the Duab in general. The grower produces the cultivated area a produce—a single crop each year, the land being relieved by the alternation of autumn and spring crops. In the case of such land the autumn crop will consist of one of the millets, *jowar* or *bajra*, generally mixed with *arhar*; the spring crop of wheat, barley, gram, or mixtures of these. If the ground has long lain fallow, or is being brought under cultivation for the first time, it is dug up with the *lassi*, a short-handled, narrow-bladed mattock. The *patara*, or ordinary mattock, and the *lathar*, a kind of pick, are often used for the same purpose. When the first fall of rain has softened the hard-baked soil the field is ploughed as often as the cultivator's time will allow. The surface is then rendered level by running over it the *putla*, a flat board drawn by two bullocks, on which the cultivator stands himself to give it additional weight. The land is now ready for sowing. The seed is either scattered broadcast (*patara*), or dropped through a drill called *nethi*, *set*, or *bani*, which is generally fastened to the handle of the plough. The former is the plan adopted for the autumn crop of millet, but wheat and barley are sown with the drill. The drill is a bamboo tube with a wicker-work funnel; through it the seed falls into the furrow made by the ploughshare, being afterwards covered by the earth turned over as the next furrow is formed. After sowing, the next process is weeding, which begins about a fortnight later, and is continued at intervals, whenever necessity arises. Where water can be obtained irrigation is applied, but only to the spring crops. The

millets are never watered. The use of manure is universal and is limited only by the limit of the quantity obtainable. All the sweepings of the houses, the droppings of cattle, and every sort of rubbish are carefully collected for removal to the fields; and though the greater part of the cowdung which ought to go back to the land is used as fuel, this does not utterly destroy its value as manure. For the ashes of the fire are always added to the dunghill, and much that is potent for fertilizing purposes is thereby preserved. The effect on rents of facilities for obtaining manure has been shown elsewhere. The quantity of manure required for each crop cannot be specified. The cultivator gives all that he has and all that he can afford to buy.

One of the most remarkable features in the recent history of the district agriculture has been the development of the practice of taking two and three crops a year from the soil. At the settlement of 1870 no accurate record was taken of the double-cropped area, but it was not then very considerable. During the five years preceding the 1902 settlement the average area from which more than one crop was taken had risen to 128,601 acres, and the last four years have seen a further increase to an average of 142,661 acres. In other words, no less than 21·3 per cent. of the cultivated area now bears two or three crops in the year. High cultivation of this type requires plentiful manure and water and a good soil. It is therefore mostly found around towns on the Ganges cliff where earthen wells are practically permanent and the soil is a fertile *dumat*; but a few villages, of which Sarai Pryag in the Chhibramau tahsil is the centre, have developed a large treble-cropped area in ordinary land through the energy of the Kurmi cultivators. The ordinary rotation of crops in high cultivation is maize in the rains, potatoes in the winter, and tobacco in the hot weather, but some of the most highly rented land grows a second tobacco crop instead of potatoes. The highest cultivation in the district is to be found near Mau Rashidabad in the Kaimganj tahsil, where the saline wells impart an admired pungent flavour to the local tobacco. In pargana Pahara the average area bearing two crops has during the last four years been 7,577 acres, or 42·8 per cent. of the total cultivated area of 15,378 acres. There is a

considerable difference among the various tahsils in the proportion of the cultivated area bearing more than one crop. In Tirwa it forms 25·07 per cent., in Aligarh 21 per cent., in Farrukhabad 17·1, in Kanauj 16·6, in Kaimnagar 16·1, and in Chhilibraman 14·2.

The harvests are known by the usual names of *khareef*, *rabi* and *zaid*. The last-named, or intermediate harvest, is of unusual importance in this district, covering an average area, during the last four years, of 15,204 acres. This figure shows an increase of nearly 50 per cent. on the average of the five years before the recent settlement, but is smaller by 5,000 acres than that found thirty years before. Both the *rabi* and *khareef* areas, on the other hand, have expanded enormously, though they still maintain pretty much the same relative proportions. In 1872 the *khareef* covered 271,151 acres, and the *rabi* 330,632; at the 1902 settlement these figures had risen respectively to 293,755 and 352,785 acres; while during 1905—1908 the average *rabi* area has been 115,115 acres, and that of the *khareef* 100,209 acres. In the Tirwa and Kanauj tahsils alone the *khareef* area slightly exceeds that of the *rabi*, the proportions being reversed in the other tahsils, while in Aligarh the *rabi* area is nearly half as large again as that of the *khareef*.

In the *khareef*, or autumn harvest, the most important crop is *juar* (*Andropogon sorghum*) which is grown to some extent alone but more generally in combination with *arhar*. In all it covers an average area of 112,132 acres, or 28·6 per cent. of the total *khareef* area. The proportion is highest in the Farrukhabad tahsil, where 35·8 per cent. of the autumn harvest consists of this crop, and lowest in Tirwa, where the percentage falls to 21·2. This grain forms the staple food of the poorer classes during a great part of the year, and its huge stalks are of great value as fodder, some 8,000 acres being sown with *juar* every year for this purpose alone. It is a cheap crop to grow as it needs little manure and no irrigation, while the yield is very large, averaging from four to five hundred pounds to the acre when grown with *arhar*, or six hundred pounds when alone.

Next in importance to *juar* comes *hajra* (*penisetum typhondeum*), another tall millet generally sown along with

arhar and one of the small pulses. On an average 77,684 acres or 19·8 per cent. of the *kharif* area is planted with this crop, which will grow on lighter and sandier soils than *juar*. The Chhibramau tahsil returns the highest percentage of 28·7, the lowest being found in Tirwa, where it accounts for only 15·6 per cent. of the *kharif* harvest. *Bajra* resembles *juar* in the manner of its cultivation, but can be sown a good deal later, and can therefore usefully replace it when late rains have delayed the autumn sowings. Like *juar* it is one of the chief foods of the poor, but the outturn is rather smaller, and the stalks, though used for fodder in the same way, are less nutritious.

The increase in the area under maize (*zea mays*) is one of the most remarkable features in the recent development of the district agriculture. In 1872 it covered only 5,539 acres, while the average for the last four years has been 60,223 acres, or 15·3 per cent. of the total *kharif* area. The enhanced popularity of this crop is due to a variety of causes. The yield is very large, being about twice as great as that of *juar* in an ordinary year, while in favourable seasons it is as much as 1,500 pounds to the acre. But its great advantage lies in the fact that it can be sown and cut earlier than any of the other important *kharif* food crops. While *bajra* is not ripe till October and *juar* till November, maize is ready for cutting early in September, and thus not only provides a supply of food at a moment when the stock saved from the previous *rabi* is running low but also leaves the ground clear in time for its preparation for a second crop. Maize invariably forms the first crop in the system of rotation on double and triple-cropped lands, and the enormous increase in the area of such land necessarily implies a corresponding increase in the cultivation of maize. The disadvantages of this crop are that it is more delicate and requires much better soil and more careful cultivation than the millets, both irrigation and manure being indispensable, while the stalks are almost useless for fodder, unless cut green.

Rice is another crop which is now much more widely grown than it formerly was, covering an average area of 28,318 acres, or 7·2 per cent. of the *kharif* total as against 20,412 acres in

1872. In the Aligarh and Tirwa tahsils the percentage of rice rises as high as 11.5 and 13.67 per cent. of the *khairif* area, while in Kanauj it is only 2.7 per cent. A great many different varieties of rice are grown in the district, to which different local names are given, but they may all be ranged under three classes, which require different methods of cultivation. These are the *ma da*, or black-grained, the *ma da*, or thin-grained, and the black-grained rice. The black rice is sown broadcast in the shallows. The other two are sown in seed beds and planted out afterwards, the essential difference between them being that the *ma da* comes to seed in the beginning of October and is harvested in the beginning of November, while the *ma da* comes to seed in September and is harvested in October. The first kind can stand and indeed requires for its longer period of growth a larger supply of water than the second kind; it is therefore planted towards the centre of a flooded tract, wherever water is deep and the supply likely to last a long time. The second kind requires shallower water and gives the more valuable crop as its fine grain fetches a higher value in the market. It is, however, subject to the attacks of the *gad-hab* fly, the ravages of which the coarser grained rice escapes by the lateness of its sowing, and the latter is therefore the surer crop.

Cotton, which is almost always grown in combination with *arhar*, has declined very greatly in area during the last thirty years. At the recent settlement only 23,777 acres were planted with the combined crops, as compared with 12,021 acres at the previous revision, while for the past four years the average has been 26,554 acres, or 6.7 per cent. of the *khairif* area. More than half the total cotton of the district is grown in the Kanauj and Tirwa tahsils, and in the former it occupies 16.9 per cent of the autumn harvest. Cotton is a plant which requires a light rainfall and the series of wet years through which the district passed during the currency of the 1870 settlement was very adverse to its successful cultivation.

Sugarcane was never a very important crop in this district and the average of 18,090 acres sown with it during 1905-1908 is practically the same as that recorded at the 1870 settlement. In this, as in most other districts of the provinces,

690
 (The ~~iron~~ *mill*, or stone press, has been almost entirely ousted by the *iron mill*, which extracts the juice with far greater thoroughness. These iron mills are leased to the cultivators and contractors for the season. The tahsil which grows most sugarcane is Kaimganj, 5,684 acres, or 7.5 per cent. of the *kharif* area, being there devoted to this crop.

In the *rabi*, or spring harvest, the principal staple is wheat, grown singly and in combination with barley and gram. The area under wheat alone averages 133,574 acres, or 32.1 per cent. of the total *rabi*, while the combined crops account for another 116,135 acres, or 27.9 per cent. Barley follows next in order of importance, taking up 54,535 acres, or 13.1 per cent., by itself and 69,546 acres, or 16.7 per cent., in combination with gram. The latter crop covers only 14,168 acres, or 3.4 per cent. by itself. A comparison with the figures of the 1870 settlement illustrates the increasing tendency, observable in all the neighbouring Duab districts, to grow crops in combination. At that time only 40,514 acres were planted with the mixture of wheat, gram and barley, and wheat occupied 178,454 acres, barley 103,293 acres, and gram 16,978 acres, sown by themselves. Poppy has made very great strides since the former settlement, increasing from 10,616 acres to 49,339, and now covers 11.8 per cent. of the *rabi* area. The extension of canal irrigation is the main cause of this remarkable development.

A very valuable and important crop, for which Farrukhabad is famous, is that of potatoes. At the 1870 settlement potatoes and tobacco together covered 4,985 acres. Now 9,202 acres are sown with potatoes and 1,669 with the early kind of tobacco. The potato crop is grown on the best land only and follows maize. Heavy manuring is a necessary preliminary, the amount of the produce depending directly on the quantity and strength of the manure employed. Plentiful irrigation is also required, some nine waterings being the usual allowance, and the cultivation of the crop calls for continual labour and attention. The seed potatoes, which are not cut up as in England, are sown by hand in prepared ridges (*ghoa*). During the course of irrigation these ridges gradually subside, and the roots growing larger, become exposed and must have fresh earth

land on them. It is seldom that the tobacco is increasing as the plants grow higher. At the first dressing fifteen men will suffice to complete the process for an acre field in one day. But the second dressing calls for twenty, and the third for twenty-five men. These operations continue till the middle of January when in some years the potatoes are ready to be dug up; but in others the ripening is delayed till the end of the following month. It requires about 20 persons to dig an acre of potatoes, women and boys being generally employed for the purpose.

Though the greater part of the tobacco is grown in the *zaid* harvest, a certain amount, averaging 1,869 acres, forms part of the *rabi*. This tobacco is known as *mahun*, from the month of Magh (January-February) when it is cut, but is identical with the later crop, the same seed being used indifferently for either. The *mahun* tobacco is sown early in June, the seedlings being transplanted towards the end of July, while the cuttings take place at the latter end of January. It is said to be sweeter than the *jethi* tobacco and is alone used for chewing. But its value in the market is less than that of the other.

As already mentioned, the *zaid* harvest covers a very considerable area in this district. The most important crop is tobacco, which is grown in some 8,486 acres, nearly half of which is in the Farrukhabad tahsil. Following the potato crop, and ripening in the month of Jeth (May-June), it is termed *jethi* or *dhakka*. Its seed is sown in nursery beds about two months before the land will be ready to receive transplanted seedlings; and for such beds the corner of the potato field is often used. The quantity of seed is small, being hardly three quarters of a seer to the acre; and its cost is about 12 annas. After the potatoes have been dug up the field is ploughed twice or thrice, and after being levelled and marked out into beds, receives the young seedlings, which are set about a span apart. If the ground is very dry it receives a slight watering before the young shoots are transplanted, and a second slight watering follows. Growing as it does through the hottest part of the year, the crop demands much irrigation and is watered nine or ten times. For this purpose a brackish well is esteemed the best, owing to the sharp flavour it gives the tobacco. With the same object it is usual

to pour round the roots of the plant, and sprinkle over its leaves, a little saline earth (*noni matti*). Simultaneously the field must be weeded, and this is done some four or five times. About two months after the transplantation, when the young plants have grown about a foot high, they are pruned (*kanariya tarna*). All the lower leaves are broken off, and but seven or eight left at the top. The crop finally ripens in the latter half of May, when the leaves are cut, dried, and twisted into ropes. The produce seldom exceeds 30 maunds an acre, and 20 maunds may be taken as a fair average yield.

Next in importance among the *said* crops come melons, over an average area of 4,789 acres. These are grown in the sandy soil beside the river beds, which is first heavily manured. Formerly the cultivation of this crop was exclusively in the hands of Musalmans, the nature of the manure (city sweepings) used for it constituting an objection which Hindus could not overcome. Even in the days of their power the Mau Pathans received from Hindus the contemptuous name of *kunjra* or green-grocer. But the principal reason why melons were a Muhammadan growth was perhaps the fact that they were originally introduced by Musalmans. The emperor Babar's memoirs show that they were not known in India in his day except as occasional imports. The rest of the *said* harvest consists of vegetables, covering some 1,061 acres, and various condiments and spices.

Farrukhabad is unusually well protected by irrigation and has now little to fear from the effects of drought. Statistics prepared at the 1902 settlement show that no less than 477,187 acres, or 71.3 per cent., of the average area cultivated during the four years 1905—08 are irrigable from one source or another. This is a very considerable increase on the 350,627 acres returned as irrigable at the previous settlement, and as it is mainly due to extensions of the canals the improvement is even greater than the figures indicate. In a year of drought wells, tanks and the rivers dry up to a greater or less extent, but the stable canal irrigation assures a certain supply of water. At the last settlement the canal was almost confined to Tirwa, but it now reaches the Kainganj Chhbraiman and Farrukhabad tahsils while in the

Aligarh tahsil, with its irrigable *torai*, canal water is not required. The Kanauj tahsil is the only one now liable to suffer at all severely in a dry year. On an average 215,021 acres, or 33·7 per cent. of the cultivated area, are now irrigated every year, of which 62,109 acres are supplied from the canals, 129,996 acres from wells, and 22,919 acres from tanks, *johls*, and the rivers. There is also a large area of land in the lowlands which, though not returned as irrigated, is flooded every year during the rains, when it absorbs so much moisture that no further watering is needed to enable it to bear crops like wheat which elsewhere require irrigation. The average areas irrigated during the four years 1905—08 differ considerably in the different tahsils. Tirwa shows the highest proportion with 56,086 acres, or 44·5 per cent. of its cultivated area, irrigated. Of this 35,590 acres are watered from the canal. Next come Chhibramau, with 35·3 per cent., Farrukhabad with 31·3 per cent., Kanauj with 29·09 per cent., Kaimganj with 28·9 per cent. and Aligarh with 14·1 per cent.

Farrukhabad belongs to the Lower Ganges Canal system, three of whose branches supply the district with water. Of these the oldest is the Cawnpore branch, opened in 1854, when it formed part of the original Ganges Canal. The inadequacy of the supply from this canal made it necessary to provide a fresh source, and after enquiries and surveys made between 1866 and 1869 it was decided to take a new canal out of the Ganges at Narora, a village about 30 miles to the north-east of Aligarh. The main line was to run from Narora to Allahabad, feeding the old Cawnpore branch by a supply channel, and another branch was to be made through Etah and Kaimganj and called the Fatehgarh branch. Work was begun in 1872, but in 1877 the project was revised. The proposed main line to Allahabad was only carried as far as Tarha in the Mainpuri district, and its name was changed to the Bewar branch, while the channel supplying the Cawnpore canal became the main canal. The Fatehgarh branch remained unaltered, and was opened in 1881, the Bewar branch having begun work a year earlier. The tahsil with the largest canal-irrigated area is Tirwa, where 63·4 per cent. of the cultivation is watered from this source Kaimganj coming next with 36·6 per cent. and then Chhibramau with 28·2. In Farrukhabad

only 1·4 per cent. of the cultivation is irrigated from the canals and in Kanauj and Aligarh they are unknown.

The Fatehgarh branch enters the district from Etah and flows south-eastwards through the Kamganj tahsil for 14 miles. The principal distributaries are those of Teor, Lalai, Holipur, Katia, Jamma, Khinmini and Rudain, the total length of which is 34 miles. Both the branch and its distributaries run two weeks in every three and command between them a culturable area of 66,734 acres. Of this commanded area 22,046 acres, or one-third, has been irrigated on an average during the five years, 1904—08, 6,441 acres in the *kharif* and 15,605 acres in the *rabi*. The maximum yet attained was in 1907-08, when 10,459 acres were irrigated in the *kharif* and 20,833 acres in the *rabi*, or nearly one half the total area commanded in all. The head discharge of the main line of the branch is 720 cubic feet per second, while those of the distributaries vary from 70 to 10 cubic feet per second. The canal flows along the watershed, and does not seriously interfere with the natural drainage. Several works have however been carried out by the canal officers with a view to improving the drainage. The two main lines into which the drainage naturally falls are the Burhanga on the left or east bank of the canal and the Bagar Nala on the right or west bank. The main channel of the former stream has been deepened and straightened by cutting through a number of necks of high land and so connecting the series of waterlogged depressions of which it formerly consisted, while weeds and other obstructions have been removed. Near the northern boundary of the district the Rudain drain has been made to carry into the Burhanga the water which used to collect in the hollows between the Fatehgarh branch and the Bhargain distributary. Several new channels have been made to relieve the valley of the Bagar Nala and reclaim the lowlying and swampy depressions which skirt its course. One of these starts at the Bagar escape at the tail of Fatehgarh branch and runs more or less parallel to the Khinmini distributary, falling at the thirteenth mile into a natural depression, which drains into the Ganges. This not only does a great deal of useful drainage work but also acts as an escape at the tail of the Fatehgarh branch. Another starting a few miles

below Aliganj in the Etah district drains a large tract of country on right of the Fatehgarh branch, between mile 48 and the tail. This drain too has done a great deal of good. Smaller drains connected with the Bagar are the Ljor branch drainage cut, which empties one of the depressions at the side of the Nala between the Lalai distributary and the Fatehgarh branch; the Teor branch drainage cut, between the Teor and Lalai distributaries, which relieves another depression; and the Tirau branch drainage cut, which joins the Bagar near Deora Mahsana.

The Cawnpore branch crosses in a south-easterly direction the whole breadth of the Tirwa tahsil, flowing along the ridge of the Isan-Arind watershed; and has a length in this district of just under 35 miles. It has five distributaries, the Taria, Tirwa, Sakrawa, Khairnagar and Kansua, which, with their numerous branches and minors, have a total length of 187 miles 6 furlongs. The head discharge of the main canal is 1,500 cubic feet per second, and it runs constantly but the distributaries only in alternate weeks. The total culturable area commanded by this canal is 159,300 acres, and during the five years 1904—08 it has irrigated, on an average, 18,590 acres in the *Kharif* and 30,960 acres in the *rabi* harvest. The maximum area yet irrigated was 64,908 acres for both harvests in 1908. The branch is navigable and is crossed by 12 bridges, at Mirzapur, Digri, Saraya, Kansua, Haseran, Bahosi, Ganah, Umardah, Sukhi, Khairnagar, Annah and Barapur. The head discharge of the main canal is 1,500 cubic feet per second, and it runs constantly. The distributaries, now that the Tirwa distributary has been remodelled, are all running in alternate weeks, *i.e.* instead of being kept open with the required discharge continuously, the channels, which are constructed with wider bed widths, are run full with double the discharge for one week and closed in the following week. This system has many advantages, the principal one being the possibility of admitting double the volume in a given time, and thus completing irrigation before it is too late for sowing. A number of drainage cuts have been made in connection with this canal to improve the natural drainage of the tract through which it flows. The Mirzapur relief cut takes off from the Sathgawan Bikapur

drain a little above the Mirzapur bridge and has an outfall into the Rind, reducing the catchment area of the Sathgawan Bikupur drain by $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, and saving the Mirzapur village from flooding. The Asseni drainage cut starts near mile 80 of the canal and connects the Chhattarwa *jhil* with the Asseni *jhil* diverting the combined drainage into the *nala* across the Indargarh-Tirwa road. On its way it crosses the Umardah minor and the Tilsara and Tirwa distributaries. The Ruppur drain is intended for the relief of the tract of country between the 65th and 67th miles of the Cawnpore branch, where a good deal of water is unnecessarily held up to the great detriment of the villages of Ruppur and Rur in wet years. Towards the northern outfall siphons have been constructed under the Saraiya and Mirzapur distributaries to give an outlet for superfluous water; but these have no connecting cut and are only to a very small extent effective. The Ruppur drain provides such a cut, leading the drainage from the depression to the deep natural drainage line, at the same time improving communications along the district road. The Rampur drain starts from the Tirmukha depression and running parallel with the Tirwa district road crosses the Tilsara distributary by means of a siphon to join the Sukhi drain in its third mile. This drain relieves the tract of country bounded by the Tilsara and Tirwa distributaries and renders the district road passable during the monsoon.

The main channel of the Bewar branch canal does not enter the Farrukhabad district at all but throws out the Nigoh and Binsia distributaries to irrigate the Kali Nadi and Isan watershed. The last $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Nigoh are within the district, and its most important branch is the Mighauli distributary with a length of $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Six minors taking out of the Nigoh have a total length of $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The head discharge of this distributary is 123 cubic feet per second and the discharge at the point where it enters the Farrukhabad district about 88 cubic feet per second. About 5 miles of the Binsia distributary and a furlong or so of the heads of the Bhadaï and Rangpur minors are within the district. All these channels run in alternate weeks when supplies are sufficient and between them a culturable area of 57,800

acres. During the five years 1904—08 they have irrigated an average of 4,480 acres in the *kharrif* and 9,916 acres in the *rabi*, or about a quarter of the commanded area the maximum being reached in 1907-08, when 7,453 acres in the *kharrif* and 12,041 acres in the *rabi* came under irrigation.

Of the drains made in connection with this canal one of the most important is the Binsia drainage system which relieves the area between the Bewar branch and the Nigoh and Binsia distributaries. The Binsia drainage system as at present completed consists of three cuts; the first is the Janoura drain which connects the three great depressions of Janoura, Jat and Chirawar; the second is the Chirawar drain which connects the Chirawar and Binsia depressions; and the third is the tail cut which takes out of the lower end of the Binsia *jhil*, and carries the collected drainage to the Isan Nadi. Another is the Bhagwantpur drain which relieves an area of $7\frac{1}{2}$ square miles included between the Atoli and Mighauli branches. The drainage of this tract collects in the Bhagwantpur *jhil* and used to cause much flooding in the rains owing to the lack of a natural outlet. During the four years' closure of the Bewar branch the flood water was taken by a cut across the Atoli distributary into the Jamnabad ravine by the zamindars. This entailed making a cut through sandhills and afforded little relief besides causing the obliteration of the district road from Chhibriaman to Saurikh. The present drainage cut runs in the direction of Hathin and acts efficiently.

In ordinary villages canal irrigation tends to discourage high cultivation. In villages irrigated by wells the Kurmi, who is the best cultivator in the district, is always surrounded by a large *gauhan* area bearing maize, potatoes and tobacco in rotation every year. The outlying fields are carefully cultivated, but the treble-cropped *gauhan* monopolizes most of the Kurmi's energy. In canal-irrigated villages the amount of water available is not sufficient for treble cropping, but suffices for a double crop of maize followed by corn or sugarcane, and such villages when occupied by Kurmis are remarkable for the extent of their carefully cultivated double-cropped area. On the whole, canal irrigation does not add to the value of an ordinary village in a normal year, because it simply takes the place of well irrigation,

but in a year of scarcity it is of the greatest value. In the depreciated *bhur* villages, on the other hand, though the interference with drainage lines caused by the canals and their distributaries has tended to intensify the effect of the excessively wet seasons, yet the canal water aided greatly in the speedy recovery of the deteriorated tract, and its value in dry years cannot be overestimated. On the whole, the introduction of the canals into the *bhur* tracts of this district has been of the greatest benefit. The effect of the canals in villages containing areas of *usar* infected by *reh* is disputed. Such villages are liable to suffer from waterlogging, and one undoubted result of the application of canal water is to bring the *reh* to the surface. The Settlement Officer is of opinion that the complaints of villagers that *reh* has increased since the advent of the canals are well founded. On examination of the figures for rental and cultivation, however, it was found that these seemingly *reh*-infected villages had increased in value since the previous settlement *pari passu* with villages of a similar nature that had no canal irrigation, and there is reason to believe that canal water simply brings *reh* to the surface without increasing its quantity or extent. The danger exists that west winds or the flow of surface water will convey this surface *reh* into fields not previously affected. This process is probably going on, but so slowly that it will be many years before serious harm is done. It seems likely that the introduction of canal water into these tracts is slowly, almost imperceptibly, deteriorating them, but it certainly prevents catastrophes in scarcity years.

The area irrigated by wells in this district is large, amounting during the four years 1905—08 to an average of 213,297 acres, or 31.8 per cent. of the cultivated area. Most of this irrigation comes from earthen wells, but masonry wells are numerous and have multiplied very remarkably of recent years, no less than 7,305 new ones having been constructed during the currency of the 1870 settlement in addition to the 1,188 already in existence. Kanauj and Farrukhabad are the two tahsils with the largest proportion of their irrigation dependent on this source, the percentage being 92 in both cases. In Aligarh it is 68.5, in Chhibramau 59, in Kaimganj 54, while in Tirwa, where there is so much canal

irrigation, only 27 per cent is derived from wells. The character and permanence of earthen wells differs very much in the upland and the lowland owing to the much greater depth of the water-level in the former. There are tracts in the upland such as the old high bank of the Ganges and the centre of the Kaimganj tahsil, where the soil is firm from the surface to the spring level and wells last for years without any support whatever. Elsewhere, however, some artificial support has to be given to prevent the collapse of the sandy layer (*lila*) intervening between the firm stratum above and that below. This consists either of a cylinder (*corbier*) made of iron or, more usually, of blocks of wood shaped for the purpose and pegged together, or of a thick cable, twisted from the stalks of *arhar* or cotton, and coiled around the inside of the well. The cost of the former type of well is about Rs. 40, including the lining, and it will last several years. The latter cost only Rs. 5 or Rs. 10, but their duration is only from one to three years. Owing to the depth of the water from the surface in the upland bullocks have invariably to be used to work the wells, the number required varying according to the supply of water from one to four pairs. The wells of the lowlands, called *chahu*, are narrow holes dug in the sandy soil of those tracts, and often supported by a coil (*bar*) of stalks, as described above. They never last more than a year and cost about Rs. 3 to construct. The water is seldom more than eight or ten feet from the surface, as against some 30 feet in the upland, and the supply is kept up by percolation. The coil, here sometimes made of jamarisk (*phau*) withes, is wound round the shaft for a depth of three or four feet, starting from the place where the water begins to trickle. The spring level never being reached, the depth of water in the well is seldom more than two or three feet. Such wells can be dug almost anywhere in the lowlands. But there are many places where the soil is too loose to dig them without sloping the sides of the pit at a considerable angle, and very large tracts are by nature so moist as not to require them at all. These wells are worked by one man. A long pole or lever (*dhenkli*), weighted at one end, is balanced on a fulcrum built of earth or formed of the old trunk of a tree. To the other end an earthen pot is attached by a long rope which when

that end of the pole is depressed admits of the pot reaching the water. The leverage gained by this contrivance assists the man to raise the water. In gardens, again, a small winch wheel (*charkh*) is not uncommon. This too requires the labour of a single man only. But the process is slower, and is therefore adopted only when a limited supply of water is needed.

In addition to the area irrigated from canals, and wells, some 22,919 acres are annually watered from tanks, *jhils* and the rivers. The Kali Nadi, Isan and Bagar are all used to irrigate the land in their immediate vicinity, though the usefulness of the Kali Nadi for this purpose has been considerably diminished since the floods of 1888 which deepened the river bed, thus increasing the labour and expense of raising water from it. The largest area irrigated from these additional sources is found in the Tirwa tahsil, where the numerous *jhils* usefully supplement the supply and provide for 6,640 acres a year. So too in Tirwa 5,257 acres are irrigated mainly from the *jhils*. In Aligarh a large number of small tanks afford one watering to the crops and enable an average area of 3,202 acres to be irrigated. In Kaimganj the area watered from the Bagar and from tanks averages 3,522 acres, and in Farrukhabad and Kanauj the Kali Nadi with the *jhils* and tanks supply 2,538 and 1,760 acres respectively. From all these sources, as from canals where the "flow" method is not practicable, the water is lifted in slung baskets worked by two men. On the height to which the water must be raised depends the number of lifts (*gaura*) employed, about six feet being the greatest height to which the water can be thrown in one lift. Two baskets, and even three are often employed at the same stage. The work is very laborious; and as a general rule three men are employed to one basket, so that one man may rest while his mates are working.

Of the various methods of irrigation the basket-lift is at once the most efficient and economical, if only one lift be required. Six men will work two baskets, while two more will be employed to look after the water channels and turn the water into the different beds. An acre can be irrigated in one day by this method, and taking three annas as a man's daily wage the total cost will be Re. 1-8-0. A second lift will employ six men more and

raise the sum to Rs. 2 10 0. With the *dhanki* only one man and a boy are necessary. But the irrigation is much slower, an acre requiring about twelve days' labour to water it. Thus the cost at five annas daily would amount to Rs. 3-12-0 an acre. Well-irrigation needs two men at 3 annas each per diem and a pair of bullocks at 10 annas, to work at the well itself, with a boy at 2 annas to distribute the water. This makes the cost Rs. 1-2-0 a day, and an acre of land can be watered by this method in six days. The cost of well-irrigation thus amounts to Rs. 6-12-0 an acre. These calculations assume that all the labour used is hired. But in the case of the ordinary cultivator, who works himself with his family and uses his own bullocks, the expense is, of course, immensely reduced.

The history of the famines which swept over these provinces before the British occupation is too scanty to allow of any conjecture as to their comparative severity within the limits of individual districts. Almost immediately after the cession, at the beginning of 1802, the outbreak of the spring harvest was greatly reduced by hailstorms. But when the rains failed to appear in due season, distress began in earnest. Scanty showers were insufficient to save the autumn crop; and early in September the Governor General's Agent reported that throughout the district that crop was injured or destroyed. The Board of Commissioners ordered the advance of considerable loans for food, but to what exact amount is not stated. At the end of September the Governor General proclaimed a bounty on all grain imported into Fatchgurh within four months. The amount offered was Rs. 31 on every 100 maunds of wheat or barley, and Rs. 27 on all other kinds of grain; and the imports were to be passed free of all duty. At the same time false hopes were excited by a partial fall of rain. Under the combined influence of these two causes wheat, which had fallen from 34 to 20 seers to the rupee, rebounded abruptly to 32. But the drought continued and gradually destroyed the autumn crops. At the end of the year the agent suggested remissions of revenue to the amount of Rs. 1,74,135. The new year opened badly. The winter rains failed and the spring crop was everywhere reported as stunted. Balances of revenue increased with alarming

accumulation; and the Agent wrote that defaulting proprietors were flying across the border into Oudh. The spring harvest seems to have completely failed, and in May a remission of about one-third of the whole land revenue was recommended. At the end of July the gross balances amounted to Rs. 3,20,391. But by this time the long-desired rain had fallen and the district began to recover, though the process was at first a slow one. The total loss to Government in remissions between November 1803 and October 1804 was 1,57,920 Farrukhabad rupees. As to other losses—of life from starvation, of crops from the drought itself, and of private property from the increase of crime—no estimate can be formed from any extant record.

From the scarcity of 1813-14 which affected the neighbouring district of Cawnpore, Farrukhabad seems to have escaped unscathed. In 1819 both spring and autumn harvests were indifferent, but neither was by any means a total failure, and it was not till 1825 that there was again serious distress. In January 1825 the Collector, Mr. Newnham, reported that the failure of the rain during the past autumn had been greater than even in 1803. In the neighbourhood of headquarters only one shower had fallen, and in Talgram the rain had been very partial. All autumn crops except cotton had perished; but landlords had exerted themselves bravely to pay the revenue. By March the situation had grown very serious; for it seemed that the failure of the autumn would be followed by the failure of the spring harvest, and the failure of two harvests in succession always means famine. The Collector wrote that no hope of the winter rains, on which the people had staked their last expectations of a spring crop, remained. In Shamsabad, where the showers of the preceding autumn had been less scanty, unwatered crops, such as *arhar*, flourished fairly. But, further to the east and south, in parts of Rhojpur, and the whole of Chhibramau, Saunikh and Talgram, "the scene calls for commiseration." Lagoons covered a year before with water and waterfowl were now dry. The whole Kahi Nadi and Isan watershed "presented the same picture"; and pargana Kanauj, then in Cawnpore, was said to be equally parched. "The scene of general distress and poverty which I observed is beyond

my ability to describe. The villagers constantly declared that they were without food and in despair. The zamindars urgently solicited me to look at their lands, and some, quite forgetful of the usual respect, actually seized my horse's reins and attempted to force me to contemplate their sterile fields. Here and there I could not fail to observe the smoke of the charcoal pit, and at other spots the sawyers at work on the mango trees, which had been sold and felled as one resource of realizing funds to discharge the Government demand." The Sakrawa tahsil, whose light, sandy soil precluded the digging of wells, is reported as suffering more than any other part of the Sirhpura subdivision; and in Tiwa, which like Sirhpura was then a portion of Etawah, a revenue balance of Rs. 6,000 was apprehended. But throughout the district unflagging labour had been exerted to dig wells where wells were possible; and somehow prices were not so high as might have been expected from the general scarcity. It is impossible indeed to avoid the reflection that the darkness of the prospect may in some measure have been deepened by panic. Mr. Newnham prophesied that the spring outturn would be less than two-fifths of the average. But whatever the success of his prediction, we know that with the fall of rain in July distress disappeared. During 1825-26 and the following year the suspensions of revenue amounted to Rs. 11,336 only.

There is one point in the reports on this and later famines which cannot fail to arrest attention. It is that the northern half of the district, the tahsils of Kainganj, Aligarh, and parts of Farrukhabad, was far less subject to drought and famine than the southern. The latter approximates to the adjoining districts of Cawnpore and Etawah, which have always been exceptionally sensitive to the attacks of drought. But the famine of 1833-34, from which Cawnpore suffered, did not extend into Farrukhabad.

The next famine, that of 1837-38, was ushered in by a summer of extraordinary heat. A copious fall of rain in July and August was followed by a protracted drought. The cotton and indigo crops were specially affected, and seed could be obtained only at an increase of 100 per cent. beyond the prices of the preceding year. It was soon evident that

the autumn crop would fail; and to provide relief paupers were employed on the Grand Trunk Road. In October deaths from starvation were reported. In January 1838 the Governor General, Lord Auckland, took over charge of these provinces from the Lieutenant Governor, Sir C. Metcalf. "From Cawnpore to Farrukhabad", he writes, "the agricultural distress and destitution of the people was the subject which most imperiously demanded attention. This is the part of the country which has suffered most, and where the largest expenditure is required in order to palliate the evil and prevent the total depopulation of the country by starvation and emigration. Not only has the *kharef* crop failed, but the grass and fodder were also lost." But "after crossing the Ganges at Fatehgarh" (i.e. on crossing over into the Aligarh tahsil) "the prospect of the country very much improved." Lord Auckland was accompanied by the Commissioner of Agra, Mr. Hamilton, C.S., who corroborates these statements. "The first pargana I passed was Kanauj, the destitute state of which was most deplorable. The population bore evidence of famine; and had it not been for the means afforded them of obtaining a sufficiency for their support by working on the Grand Trunk Road, and a branch road under the superintendence of the collector, the misery and mortality would have been beyond description. Wherever there were wells, by dint of irrigation some few patches of cultivation had been raised; but generally the prospects of the *rabi* harvest were unfavourable, nor did they appear brighter in the villages of Talgram and Bhojpur, though in the bed of the Kali Nadi the crops seemed of good promise, and in the neighbourhood of Fatehgarh and in the Huzur (headquarters) tahsil cultivation had increased. There was a visible improvement on crossing the Ganges." He afterwards writes that the parganas where the crops had failed most signally were Thatia, Kanauj and Tirwa. Again we see the southern tract suffering more than the northern.

The famine of 1837-38 is remarkable as being the first in which relief operations on the modern system were attempted. As early as August 1837 the headquarters station was full of starving villagers, while grain dealers were deploring raids on

their store-pits. During the succeeding twelve months 3,431 housebreakings, robberies, and thefts occurred; and the employment of an extra police force was found necessary. In the preceding month Government began granting sums for the famine wages of able-bodied paupers employed on the roads, and in December the Collector, Mr. Robinson, was given *carte blanche* for expenditure on relief works. The contributions of private charity, Indian and European, were devoted by the collecting committees to the assistance of those who through sex, age, or infirmity were unequal to hard labour. An asylum for such people was found in the old Shahzada Kothi at Farrukhabad, where first money, and afterwards rations, were distributed. But notwithstanding all this relief, the applicants for employment on roads exceeded by one-third the number that such works required. As it was imperative to remove the hordes of hungry men who had collected round Farrukhabad, they were despatched in gangs of 500 to employment in outlying parganas. To the severe distress more than one graphic witness has borne testimony. "Brahmans," writes Major Conran in his Life of Colonel Wheeler, "who had before rejected their cooked food if the defiled Christian had come too near, were now seen by us stealing the scraps from our dogs. Mothers sold their infants to the despised foreigners or left them a prey to the wolves; society was entirely disorganized, and horrors of every kind pervaded the land. Aided by our countrymen's subscriptions, he (Wheeler) collected the castaway infants and children, and saved many lives, hereafter to form under his personal training the nucleus of the now well-known Fatchgarh Mission. Awful were the sights amidst the crowds accumulated in the famine-stricken cities of the Doab; those who witnessed them will never forget the sickening odour that came from that reeking mass of misery." A not less forcible if less pretentious writer, Mr. C. Lindsay, quotes the selling-price of children as ranging from nothing to four rupees. In May 1838, when the spring harvest had been garnered, efforts were made to reduce the relief establishment. But, continues Mr. Lindsay, "the destitute poor, from whom public employment had been withdrawn, had no means of subsistence

and they resorted to plundering the mango groves and grain shops, with the avowed intention of getting into jail." The relief works were therefore revived and continued to the end of August. In April Government found it necessary to take the distribution of rations on such works into its own hands, as the grain dealers who had up to this time contracted for the supply were found to have adulterated the flour with sand and powdered bones. The sum devoted to relief by Government, from August 1837 to August 1838 inclusive, was Rs 1,63,006, which was raised to 1,78,636 by a grant of the local road fund. The amount expended from private sources, including a grant of Rs. 8,000 from the Central Relief Committee at Calcutta, was Rs 24,138; and the number of persons thus relieved, 547,025. Over six lakhs of land revenue, due for the period of famine, were remitted. This was probably the severest famine which has ever visited the district, and has therefore been described at some length. It may be considered to have ended with the rains of 1838; and the highest price of gram during its continuance was twelve and a half seers to the rupee.

Though Farrukhabad was not one of those districts which suffered from actual drought in 1860 the scarcity in neighbouring districts and the irruption of starving immigrants caused a scarcity also in this, and towards the close of the year relief operations became necessary. Work was given to the able-bodied on the new Ganges Canal branch, where at a cost of Rs. 1,03,368 relief was afforded to 1,086,206 persons. Poor-houses were opened, and doles distributed to the infirm and women who by the custom of the country cannot appear in public. The funds for both these objects were mainly derived from private charity. In all Rs. 20,164 were collected, of which Rs. 14,500 were contributed by the Agra Central Relief Committee, and with this sum 323,563 infirm and female paupers were relieved. With favourable rains in July the distress began to disappear, and by October may be said to have ceased. But the canal works were carried on to completion. No deaths from starvation are recorded, and no remissions of revenue seem to have been thought necessary. The amount of crime to have been normal and was indeed

much greater in following years than during the scarcity in 1877.

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The district escaped the famine of 1868 and was even able to export grain to the less fortunate Panjab and Rohilkhand. But these exports raised the price of grain and caused some distress among the poorer portion of the population and rendered necessary a small amount of gratuitous relief. Between February and October 1869 some 152 persons were relieved daily at a total cost of Rs. 1,176. The next great famine took place in 1877. An abnormally high rainfall between January and April in that year did much damage to the spring crop, and was followed by an equally abnormal failure of the monsoon. Between June and the end of September only 2.17 inches of rain fell, and except for occasional irrigated areas the whole country appeared one inarable desert. In November poorhouses for the infirm, and in January relief works for the able bodied were opened. The former had by February 1878 increased to six; the latter consisted chiefly of embankments for the railway. By the end of September the autumn crops had almost entirely perished. But in the following month rain fell, saving the small remnant of the *harif*, and enabling the people to sow their *rabi*. Advances for seed and the fact that much of the land had borne no autumn crop caused the area of sowings greatly to exceed that of average years. But the winter rain was, as before, too abundant, resulting in blight: high winds at the end of February shrivelled the corn; and the spring outturn was disappointingly small. The rains had, by putting an end to irrigation labour, intensified the distress. That distress may however be said to have abated with the spring harvest and ceased with the downfall in their due season of the rains of 1878. The poorhouses were closed in April and relief works in October 1878. Throughout the famine crime and mortality increased, the latter being aggravated by an extremely inclement winter. Though late in places, the whole revenue for 1877-78 was ultimately realized. The total cost of relief operations was Rs. 48,093, of which Rs. 40,458 was borne by the state.

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The next general failure of the rains found Farrukhabad fully provided with canal irrigation and though there was

sea city in 1896 there was no famine. Prices ruled very high throughout the year especially from October 1896 to March 1897. Wheat rose to 7 seers 4 chittaks in October 1896; barley to 4 seers 2 chittaks in March 1897; *guar* to 9 seers 4 chittaks in the same month; and *bagra* to 8 seers 12 chittaks in October 1896. With a distinctly bad *kharif* and a contracted *rabi* (70 per cent. of the normal) there could be no doubt that the pressure on the tenantry and the lower classes in general was considerable, but there was no acute distress, for the test relief works which were started more by way of precaution than because of necessity failed to attract workers. Five poorhouses were opened, but three of these—at Kaimganj, Kanauj and Chhibramau—had to be closed soon after on account of the paucity of inmates, and only those at Farrukhabad and Tirwa were kept open. Three test works were started on the roads from Farrukhabad to Aliganj and Chhibramau and on the Bela-Khudaganj road, but they never attracted enough workers to justify the opening of regular relief works. In all, Rs. 3,918 were expended on the test works, of which Rs. 2,684 were paid to the labourers, and the balance to the Government officials in charge. Except in the city of Farrukhabad the distribution of gratuitous relief was on a small scale, the proportion of the population so relieved practically never exceeding 1 per cent. The total amount advanced for this purpose was Rs. 20,674. The expenditure on poorhouses was Rs. 16,373, and the total number of units relieved was 175,251. The district mortality for the year 1896-97 was 30,365 as against 28,641 in 1895-96; the death rate was normal during the first half of the year but was raised during the latter half by small-pox and malaria. Land revenue was suspended to the amount of Rs. 72,792, of which Rs. 17,792 were ultimately remitted. Farrukhabad entirely escaped the famine of 1905-06, and no measures of relief were required. In 1907-08 it was very slightly affected, the distress being confined to the poorest classes of the population, who always live on the very margin of subsistence and feel immediately any rise in prices. Gratuitous relief was started on February 4th, but stopped before the end of May, the greatest number relieved at any one time having been 3,123. A poorhouse was opened in the middle of January, but never contained more than

80 inmates and was closed at the end of March. The total expenditure on gratuitous relief amounted to Rs. 15,888. In addition to this, land revenue to the amount of Rs. 56,966 was suspended while Rs. 20,629 were remitted altogether. Liberal advances were made for the purchase of seed and cattle and the construction of wells, the total sum so given being Rs. 3,49,351.

The experience of the last twenty years has shown that Farrukhabad is now much more liable to suffer from an excessive than from a deficient rainfall, though it may be hoped that the drainage schemes carried out recently by the Irrigation department have in a great measure safeguarded it from the effects of abnormally wet seasons. During the period from 1884 to 1888 the rainfall was unusually heavy, the quantity of rain received in the north of the district being more than double the total of the preceding four years. As a result, serious floods occurred in many parts of the district and, owing to defective drainage, the surplus water unable to escape lay upon the land saturating and water-logging the soil. The Kaimganj tahsil fared the worst. The whole of the Ganges *tarai*, where the tortuous and obstructed channel of the Burhanga afforded no outlet for the water poured into it, was converted into an unculturable fen, while great damage was done by unusually high floods from the Ganges itself. The slope from the upland to the *tarai* suffered serious deterioration and became covered with either *kans* grass or *reh* to such an extent as to defeat even the skill and energy of the Kachhis. To the west of the tahsil a group of villages in the neighbourhood of Teor was swamped, the lower lands being under water while in the light soils on a higher level a prodigious growth of *kans*, described as being in places "as thick as an English hay crop," beat the plough off the fields. The village of Mohi-ud-dinpur, next to Teor, was described as "an abandoned mound of sodden ruins in the midst of a vast lake, in which every field was submerged with the exception of four only, and even these were not sufficiently dry to allow of being ploughed." The villages along the Nagar suffered severely from saturation and the consequent growth of *kans*, as the stream was quite unable to carry off the water lying in the numerous hollows and depressions along its course. In the rest of the district the damage was less serious except in the

neighbourhood of the Kali Nadi and Isan. Along the course of the former river, besides the extensive subsoil percolation which stimulated a most luxuriant crop of *silbari* and *kans* on the slope, the violent floods left on much of the *tarai* land a deposit of sand, thus permanently deteriorating the soil. The *tarai* of the Isan suffered less, but its slope too was covered with *kans* and put out of cultivation. In the affected tracts the greater part of the *kharif* of 1887 and practically the whole *kharif* of 1888 was lost while the soil was so deteriorated that much of it was rendered unfit for cultivation some years after. In 1889 Mr. Trethewy, C.S., was appointed to make enquiries into the extent and nature of the damage, and to make proposals for the amount of revenue to be remitted and reduced, and at the same time the Irrigation department was entrusted with the task of improving the drainage of the district. Mr. Trethewy's revision resulted in remissions of revenue to the amount of Rs. 1,40,442, and a permanent reduction of Rs 61,858 in the demand. A comparison of these figures with those already given for the remissions found necessary after recent famines will illustrate in a striking manner how much more this district has to fear from flood than from famine.

Statistics are available since 1803 to show the prices of the principal food-grains in Farrukhabad, and they demonstrate in a remarkable manner the great rise that has taken place in the last century. But it was not till after the Mutiny that this rise really began. Between 1803 and 1854 there were several marked fluctuations, but though prices rose several times, in periods of scarcity, to a height above the average, yet they always returned by a rapid and violent oscillation to about the former level. Since the Mutiny, however, the rise has been steady, broken only by one or two brief and inconsiderable falls, and there seems to be no sign of any general or prolonged return to the old level. Between 1803 and 1850 the average price of wheat was 35·33 seers to the rupee, of barley 50 seers, and of *jwar* 47 seers. During the next decade the rise was small, wheat averaging 34 seers, barley 45·4 seers, and *jwar* 41·5 seers. But between 1861 and 1870 wheat rose to 22·6 seers, barley to 32·1, and *jwar* to 25; and during the next five years there was a further enhancement to 17·89 seers in the case of wheat, 23·91 seers in that of barley and

22.13 m. d. t. of c. the next year saw a general fall in prices, wheat sinking to 19.61 seers to the rupee, barley to 27.32 seers, and *juar* to 24.72 seers. But after this temporary interruption, the upward progress was continued without intermission in the case of wheat, until in 1901 it stood at 12.66 seers to the rupee. Barley and *juar*, after rising to 18.01 and 16.95 seers respectively, fell in that year to 20.40 and 22.21 seers. Since that time wheat has remained almost stationary, while barley and *juar* have both become a little dearer. In 1902-07 the harvest price of barley was 18.2 seers and of *juar* 16.8 seers. The great improvements in the communications between different parts of the district and the rest of India which have been effected of recent years have been chiefly responsible for both the rise in prices and also the comparatively small fluctuations which they have latterly undergone. Formerly it was not only possible but even usual for the prices of the ordinary food grains to differ widely even in different tahsils of the same district. In 1858, for instance, wheat was selling in one tahsil at 35 seers to the rupee, and in another at 11 seers; and as late as 1867 the variations were between 23 and 14 seers. Nowadays, however, there is but little difference in prices even between different districts, and shortage of supply in one is easily and rapidly made good from another, while the general price is regulated by the rates prevailing over the whole country.

The general rise in the price of food grains has inevitably reacted on wages, and these have been steadily rising for the last half century. No statistics are extant to show the general rates which prevailed during the early years of British rule, or in the antecedent period of native supremacy, but it is on record that the masons who built the walls of Farrukhabad in 1714 A.D. received as their daily hire from 2 to 5 *filus*, a sum equivalent to from six pice to one and a quarter annas of our money. In 1856 the mason's daily wage varied between 2½ and 3½ annas, while by 1878 5 annas was the sum usually demanded. At the present day a mason receives from 6 to 8 annas a day according to his proficiency. The wages of carpenters, blacksmiths and other artisans have followed a similar course. There is however a considerable difference between the rates of remuneration on

town and country, the smaller cost of living in the villages tending to keep wages down, and the artisan who gets 8 annas in the city will be content with 6 annas in the country. The old practice of making payments in kind still survives in the villages, and blacksmiths and carpenters are commonly paid an annual wage of 30 seers of grain per plough for keeping the agricultural implements of the village in repair. Carts do not come into this category and their repairs are paid for in cash. At harvest time payment in kind is the rule, the ordinary rate in the *rabi* being one sheaf for every twenty sheaves reaped, while the size of the sheaf is limited to what the reaper can unaided raise above his head. For other kinds of field labour, such as irrigation, the usual daily wage is 3 annas and some food at noon. In the towns the ordinary unskilled coolie now earns from 4 to 5 annas a day as against 1 or 2 annas in 1878.

The weights of Farrukhabad are peculiar, and inconvenient even to the initiated. In weighing milk and sweets the "Company *wazan*" or Government seer of 80 *tolas* is the standard. But spices, brass and metalware are sold by the *nawabi* seer of 100 *tolas*, while there is yet a third standard, the *dharra* or *rajwari* seer of 113 *tolas*, which is used for dealings in grain. For gold and silver ornaments an entirely different standard exists. Of this the unit is the *chanwal*, originally, as its name implies, a grain of husked rice. Six *chanwals* make one *rati*, which is the seed of the *mulhati* or Indian liquorice. This is a small red pea with a tiny black spot on it, and is perhaps on that account sometimes called *chashm-i-khuras*, or cock's eye. Eight *ratis* make one *masha*, and 12 *mashas* one *tola*, of which six go to the *chatak*, instead of five as by the Government standard. Measures of distance or area are all founded on the *qadam* or pace. This is not the pace of the ordinary male walker, but equals the distance which a woman, carrying a full water-pot on her head, would traverse in two steps. The *kos* theoretically measures 1,909 *qadams*, but in practice its length varies, even within the district. In the Kairmangj tahsil, as in Rohilkhand, it is equivalent to about a mile and a half English; but in the south of the district, as for instance in the Tirwa tahsil,

it is quite equal to two miles. The English mile is generally understood, and in measuring shorter distances all classes now commonly use the furlong as their standard, as everyone knows the distance between the furlong stones on the main roads. The local standard of area is the *bigha*, a square of 20 *gudams*, measured by rope (*jura*); this is known as a *kachha bigha* to distinguish it from the Government or *pakka bigha* of 2,756 square yards. In practice, the rope used for measuring the side of the *kachha bigha* is 22 *gudams* in length, to allow for sagging when held by two men standing.

The rate of interest in large transactions is moderate. When land is mortgaged without possession 9 to 12 per cent. is the ordinary rate, or 6 per cent. if possession is given. From 6 to 9 per cent. is charged when jewels are pledged. Good bills are discounted at from 4 to 6 per cent. In the Farrukhabad grain market loans on security of grain in stock bring in from 9 to 12 per cent. In smaller transactions the rates are higher. There is a large business, done chiefly by the Rustogis of Farrukhabad, on the so-called *kist* system. Ten rupees being the sum lent, repayment is made by monthly instalments of one rupee a month for twelve months. The rate is nominally 20 per cent., but is obviously generally increased by the terms of payment, while the lender is able to turn over the money without delay. The well known *sawai* system of grain loans still exists, but for the most part cultivators now borrow in money. The Farrukhabad cultivator has prospered of late years, and is by no means helpless in the moneylender's hands. Where grain is lent, it is still on the old exorbitant terms. A rupee's worth of grain is lent when grain is dear, and one rupee four annas recovered in cash at the harvest when grain is cheapest. Attempts have been made to open village banks on the Raffeisau system in this district and thus enable the cultivators to obtain small loans at reasonable rates of interest, but they have not been successful. One such bank was opened in mauza Khimsepur in the Sadri tahsil while the village was under the Court of Wards, but it has since been closed. In tahsil Chhibramau also village banks were opened in mauzas Mighauli and Nanli about 7 years ago when the villages were under the Court of Wards, but they failed as the

debtors did not pay the principal and the system thus became a burden to the subscribers.

Apart from the saltpetre refineries, which will be dealt with separately, Farrukhabad is known chiefly for its *pardahs*, or curtains, and for the scents of Kanauj. The *pardah* industry is almost entirely in the hands of the Sadhs. The pattern, carved upon blocks of wood by Panjabi workmen, is stamped by hand upon the cotton. The designs are mostly conventional, but of late years European patterns have been imported, and one firm is proposing to print from machinery from a metal roller. Besides *pardahs* there is a large trade in *razais*, or quilts, of a very cheap class, made from old *dhotis*. These are imported from Calcutta, washed and pieced, and when they are turned out with a pleasing pattern and a cotton stuffing find a ready sale as *razais* among the poorer classes. The most ancient industry of the district, the scent manufacture of Kanauj, is still flourishing, and has in fact expanded in recent years with a decline in the price of the oils employed. The purest otto of roses, or *itr*, is to be had at Kanauj, but a half *tola* phial costs Rs. 25 since a maund of rose leaves produces but one *tola* of the genuine *itr*. In addition to otto of roses there are some twenty or more different scents, manufactured at Kanauj, of which those made from the jasmine, *khaskehas*, orange and mango may be mentioned as least unpleasing to the European nose. The familiar boxes of inlaid wood, containing each its half dozen or score of phials, which were formerly imported, are now made on the spot. Another important industry of Farrukhabad is the manufacture of metal vessels. Brass and iron are imported in sheets, and the finished article exported. Silver lace is made by the Muhammadans of Farrukhabad, most of the workers being women, and exported to neighbouring districts. Durries and *newar* are also made, the latter especially in Bhikampur, a muhalla of Farrukhabad. The tent manufacture originally started by the missionaries at Fatehgarh has now passed out of their hands. There are two large factories at Fatehgarh, whose tents compete not unsuccessfully with the Cawnpore mills, as well as several smaller makers. An admirable wooden screen, carved by a Farrukhabad carpenter, has given the city a fictitious fame as a centre of wood carving.

Rural districts and villages are situated in the district and their carriers are, as above mentioned, nearly all Panjabis.

Soil impregnated with saltpetre and salt (the chloride as well as the carbonate and sulphate of sodium) is common in the district, common salt soil (*khali* or *mitti khali*) being found in patches almost everywhere, while the rest of the waste land consists chiefly of sodium carbonate. *Khar* (sulphate of soda) soil occurs chiefly in the Kampti pargana and in the south-east corner of the district. Saltpetre soil is confined principally to the sites of villages and towns as nitre is not native in the earth but results from chemical changes due to decomposition of vegetable matter, etc. In old times common salt was made round about Bahhalpur Misani in the Kampti pargana. Its direct production is now prohibited by the Salt Law, but it is still heavily reduced in the process of refining saltpetre. To manufacture crude saltpetre (*dhara khani* or *jhara*) nitrous soil (*mitti shor*) is packed into an oblong trough-shaped filter (*dhuri* or *bandhi*) and freely watered. The filtrate emerges as a tea coloured brine and is then concentrated by boiling and set out to crystallize in carbon pans. The whole operation occupies from 21 to 36 hours, and produces on an average about 30 sers of crude saltpetre worth about Rs. 2 per maund. Ordinary crude saltpetre is a compound of about 5 parts nitre, 2 common salt, and 3 other allied salts and insoluble matter. The season for the manufacture of crude saltpetre is from November to June and the factories are licensed at Rs. 2 each for the season. The manufacturers pay a royalty to the landowner ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 according to the quantity and richness in nitre of the soil, and the average outturn of a factory is about 100 maunds for the season. The crude saltpetre is refined by dissolving it in water or nitrous brine and boiling the solution until the salt and earthy matter in it are deposited, when the clear concentrated liquor is set out in wooden boxes (*mes*) to crystallize. This process takes from 5 to 8 days according to weather conditions, when the prisms or needles of refined saltpetre (*khani shara*) are extracted, lightly washed with water, and stored for sale. The residuary liquor (*tor*) remaining in the crystallizing boxes is of value as it is

used mixed with water or nitrous brine for further refining operations. Ordinary refined saltpetre is worth about Rs. 6 per maund at the refinery, and should contain less than 5 per cent of impurities and moisture. This quality is called *grani* as it is sold in the Calcutta market under a guarantee of quality. Saltpetre refineries are licensed at Rs. 50 each under the Salt Act. A refiner may, on payment of the duty on salt of Re. 1 per maund, remove from his refinery for sale any salt educed in the process of refining saltpetre, or he must have it destroyed. If the salt educed is unfit for human consumption and fit only for salting skins and hides it is called *sitta*. *Sitta* is also used for salting beef for export to Burma, and sells for about Re. 1-8-0 per maund. Farrukhabad city is probably the largest saltpetre refining centre in India and contains 25 refineries, while there are others at Nisai and Kaimganj in the district. Most of the crude saltpetre used at Farrukhabad is imported from the surrounding districts and some from the Panjab, the local supply being quite inadequate. On an average some 25,000 maunds of the raw material are produced every year in the district, while the refineries use about 150,000 maunds, from which about 75,000 maunds of refined saltpetre and 20,000 maunds of salt are extracted. To supervise licensed works, to prevent malpractices in them, and to prevent the manufacture of salt from crude saltpetre and salt earth, the Northern India Salt Revenue department maintains an establishment in the district of one inspector on Rs. 100 a month and 3 peons on Rs. 7. Owing to the abundance of salt soil in the district great care has to be exercised in licensing localities and continual vigilance is required in watching the licensed works, and cases of the illicit manufacture of salt are not uncommon.

The introduction of the railways into country has been fatal to the importance of Farrukhabad as a centre of trade. When the Ganges was the main artery of Indian trade the position of the district and its chief town conferred on it great advantages, but the river-borne traffic has been diminishing for many years past, till now it is practically non-existent, and the Ganges, from being a means of communication, has become an insurmountable obstacle to road-borne merchandise and the

wealth of Rohilkhand and Oudh which was formerly attracted by the river into the district is now diverted by the same cause. The construction of the East Indian Railway, in concentrating the channel of trade on Cawnpore, left Farrukhabad stranded, while the new branch of that line between Shikohabad and Farrukhabad, from which great benefits were expected, has actually left the latter town worse off than before. The local trade of the district, which was formerly carried on through Farrukhabad, now goes direct to Agra, and the improved communications have enabled the large firms in that city and in Cawnpore to deal directly with the local men. Business in Farrukhabad is consequently at a very low ebb and several firms have recently failed. Even the ginning and pressing of cotton and similar industries are not carried on, as might have been expected, in the midst of a very prosperous agricultural community, raw cotton being sent to Etawah and Etah to be made up in spite of the long journey by road. The principal exports of the district consist of agricultural produce, among which special mention may be made of tobacco and potatoes, sent mainly to Cawnpore and Agra; refined saltpetre, sent to Calcutta, hides and skins sent to Cawnpore, and brass and iron vessels, sent to the neighbouring districts. The imports consist mainly of manufactured articles of all kinds, sheet metal and iron girders, crude saltpetre and petroleum. During the four years from 1903 to 1907 inclusive the exports from the Farrukhabad station of the Cawnpore-Achmra railway averaged 777,295 maunds. Of this total 91,532 maunds consisted of flour, 884 maunds of unrefined sugar, 111,652 maunds of oil seeds, 26,147 maunds of metals, 1,584 maunds of raw cotton, and 12,807 maunds of piece goods, twist and yarn, the remaining 532,680 maunds being described as "other merchandise" and including grain, hides and lac-co, for which no detailed figures are available.

A list of the markets held in the district will be found in the appendix. Most of these have only a local importance and serve as centres for the exchange and purchase of commodities among the surrounding villages. The chief trading mart of the district is Farrukhabad, but all the railway stations have now become collecting centres for agricultural produce and are steadily rising

in importance with the increasing tendency of the export traffic to seek the nearest point of the railway instead of going first to Farrukhabad. Places like Tirwa, Chhibraman and Talgram, which were formerly markets of some consequence, now lie off the main trade routes and have sunk into mere glorified villages. Of the older markets which are now reached by the railway, Kaimganj, Kanauj and Shamsabad are the most important. Kaimganj does a large business in cotton, tobacco and potatoes as well as in the locks and knives and other cutlery which are manufactured in the town. The trade of Kanauj in scent is daily increasing and its products find their way all over the world, to Europe and Africa as well as Asia. Shamsabad exports considerable quantities of the tobacco and potatoes grown in its neighbourhood.

Another list given in the appendix shows all the fairs held from time to time in the district. These gatherings are all religious in origin, but opportunity is taken of the concourse of large numbers of pilgrims to do a certain amount of business at the same time. None of the district fairs, however, have attained any very high degree of celebrity, and except the Saraogi fair at Kampil, and that of Ramkrishna at Singhirampur, none of these assemblies can boast of attracting pilgrims from regions more remote than the surrounding districts. The Kampil fair is attended by strangers from Tonk, Jaipur and Lucknow, and that at Singhirampur by devout dwellers of the south, from Gwalior and other countries.

As a whole the district is thoroughly well supplied with means of communication, but the Aligarh and Tirwa tahsils form notable exceptions to this rule. The latter has no metalled roads, except the canal bank, which, traversing the tahsil from west to east, is used by both pedestrians and horses, and is cut off from the rest of the district by the unbridged Isan during the rainy season, while in the former the constantly recurring floods render any improvement impossible except at a prohibitive expenditure. The road from Sarai Miran to Tirwa will soon however be metalled, with a break at the Isan river where later it is hoped there will be a bridge. Farrukhabad city is connected by railway with Cawnpore, Achnera and Shikohabad, the latter being

the junction for the main line of the East Indian Railway, while metalled roads run from it to Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Etawah, Kaimganj and Gursahaiganj, the latter meeting the Grand Trunk Road from Aligarh to Cawnpore. One second class road leads from Farrukhabad to Chhibramau and so on to the Etawah district; another connects Chhibramau and Kaimganj with Budann; while others again link up Chhibramau with Bilhaur in the Cawnpore district, and Kanauj with Hardoi and Etawah.

Two lines of railway now pass through the district, the Cawnpore-Achnera metro-gauge line, and the Shikohabad-Farrukhabad branch of the East Indian Railway, of the ordinary gauge. The former enters the district near its south-eastern corner and traverses it with a north-westerly curve, passing through parganas Kanauj, Talgram, Bhojpur, Pahara, Shamsabad West and Kampil. There are stations at Kanauj, Jasoda, Gursahaiganj, Khudaganj, Kamalganj, Fatehgarh, Farrukhabad, Shamsalad, Kaimganj and Rudain. The new line from Shikohabad crosses over the Kali Nadi by a bridge of 10 spans of 70 feet each, and has stations at Muhammadabad, Ugarpu and Farrukhabad. It was opened for traffic on the 1st January 1906.

The roads of the district fall into two classes, Provincial and Local. The former are maintained by the Public Works department and the latter by the district board. But the former authority also looks after the metalled local roads, though the expense of their upkeep is defrayed from local funds. The provincial roads, of which there are nearly 72 miles in the district, comprise a section of the Grand Trunk Road running from Aligarh to Cawnpore with the Bareilly branch which meets it at Gursahaiganj, and a few short lengths of approach roads to railway stations. The local roads are divided into several classes, the first of which resemble the provincial roads in being metalled, raised, bridged and drained throughout. Among these are the roads from Fatehgarh to Bower and Etawah, from Farrukhabad to Kaimganj, Patha. Ghatiya Ghat and Yagutganj, those within and around the Fatehgarh civil station, and the approach roads to Kanauj and other railway stations. All the other classes of local roads are unmetalled. Of the second class, one, from Farrukhabad

to Aliganj, is bridged and drained throughout, the rest being only partially provided with these advantages. There are altogether 237 miles of such roads, the longest being those between Farrukhabad and Chhibramau, Bela and Khudaganj, Bela and Meoraghat, Bhadosi and Surajpur, Kaimganj and Gauri Mahadeopur and Kaseraghat and Saurikh. The other local roads of the district belong to the fifth and sixth classes. Of the former, which are cleared and partially bridged and drained, the most important are the roads from Rajghat to Sharifabad, from Hamirpur to Sandhan, from Amratpur to Khudaganj, and from Farrukhabad to Punthar. The sixth class roads, which are cleared only, are little more than mere cart tracks often almost impassable in the rains. They are, however, very numerous, making up nearly half the total mileage of the district roads, and are the only means of intercommunication available for the majority of villages. A list of all the roads in the district, with their mileage, is given in the appendix.

Bungalows are maintained at intervals along the more important roads for the convenience of travellers and officials. On the Mainpuri road there are inspection houses at Muhammadabad and Madanpur; on the Cawnpore road at Katrauli Patti, Gursahaiganj, Jalalabad and Manimau; on the Rohilkhand road at Rajepur and Allahganj. The last-named, with its section of road, is under the control of the Shahjahanpur authorities who have easier access to it when the Ramganga is in flood. There is also a bungalow at Shahjahanpur on the road between Chhibramau and Gursahaiganj. The headquarters *dak* bungalow is situated on the Fatehgarh parade ground, and new inspection houses have been built near the railway stations of Fatehgarh and Kaimganj. Besides these the Canal department maintains a number of inspection houses along their canals. On the Farrukhabad branch there are bungalows at Manikpur (near the Rudauli railway station), at Hajianpur (near Shamsabad station), at Faridpur Saithara and at Baraun. In the Tirwa tahsil, on the Cawnpore branch, bungalows have been built at Digri, Ijampur, Kisai Jagdispur, Bahosi, Purwa Mehta, Indargarh, Karera, Khairnagar, Kansua and Chandauli, and in the Chhibramau tahsil there is one on the Grand Trunk Road at Chhibramau.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

The first attempt to number the people of the district was made in 1845 and its results are recorded in the *Fatehgarhnama*. The population of the parganas which are now included in Farrukhabad was estimated to be 698,711, but owing to the rough and ready methods employed this represents little more than a guess and is probably much below the mark. Two years later another census was taken, but this again was conducted on very crude principles and is of little value. It gave a total population of 753,736 persons, or 482 to the square mile. The next enumeration took place in 1853, and showed for the district as it now stands a total population of 924,594 with a density of 521 to the square mile. Of the total population 87 per cent. were returned as Hindus, and 68 per cent. relied on agriculture for their living. The number of villages and townships was 1,735, of which seven had between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants, while Kanauj contained 21,964 and Farrukhabad with Fatehgarh 132,513 souls respectively. The succeeding census of 1865 showed a distinct improvement in method over both its predecessors, details as to castes and occupations and ages being taken into account for the first time. The total population was 917,496, a decrease of 7,098 in the twelve years, and the density was 541 to the square mile, various transfers of territory having reduced the area of the district by 78 square miles. The number of inhabited villages and townships had declined to 1,604, and of these 1,450 had less than 1,000, and 204 between 1,000 and 5,000 inhabitants. The ten towns with over 5,000 inhabitants were Farrukhabad (73,110), Kanauj (17,577), Fatehgarh 10,335), (Kaimganj (8,950), Shamsabad (8,428), Thania (7,332), Bimiari (7,096), Allahganj (6,246), Talgram (6,104) and Chhibramau (5,261).

The next census was taken in 1872 and carried out with more care and elaboration than any that had preceded it. The returns showed an increase of only 1,252 persons in the seven years, but this increase was entirely confined to Hindu females, Hindu males and Musalmans of both sexes having declined in numbers. The conclusion arrived at was that the population was still actually retrograding, though not so rapidly as in the preceding period, but that the Hindus were beginning to have a better understanding of the purpose of the census enquiries and no longer concealing their women to the same extent as before. Hindus now formed 88·9 per cent. of the whole population, the percentage of women among them being 45·1, while among the Musalmans the female percentage was as high as 49·6. Over the whole district the density was 526 to the square mile, varying from 2,613 in Pahara to 368 in Saurikh. The number of villages and townships was returned as 3,934, more than double the number seven years earlier. This astonishing figure was probably obtained by treating all the inhabited sites as separate villages. Of these 3,860 had less than 1,000 inhabitants; 69 between 1,000 and 5,000; while Chhibramau and Shamsabad had between 5,000 and 10,000, and Kaimganj, Kanauj, Fatehgarh and Farrukhabad over 10,000. The agricultural population was returned as only 55·6 per cent. of the whole, probably owing to the inclusion of many of the small cultivators in the columns descriptive of their supplementary callings.

At the next enumeration in 1881 the population was found to have again decreased, and now stood at 907,608, or less by 1·6 per cent. than in 1872. The decrease was shared by all the central Duab and eastern Rohilkhand and was explained by all the district officers as due to the drought of 1878 and the terrible fever epidemic of 1879. The density was 528 persons per square mile. Of the 1723 villages and towns four, Farrukhabad, Kanauj, Fatehgarh, and Kaimganj, contained over 10,000 inhabitants, four had less than 10,000 but more than 5,000; 162 had between 1,000 and 5,000; and 1,553 had less than 1,000. Of the total population 88·8 per cent. were Hindus, among whom the percentage of males was 54·5, while among the Musalmans the proportions of the sexes were almost equal, males exceeding females by only 06 per cent.

During the following decade the population continued to decline and in 1891 the district total had sunk to 858,687, a decrease of 5·89 per cent. The loss was common to all the tahsils except Kananj, which returned a small increase of 2 per cent., and was attributed to a number of causes, among which were the damage caused by floods, a high rate of mortality due to several visitations of cholera, and a continual epidemic of fever. The population of Farrukhabad only had diminished from 79,761 to 78,032 in spite of the recent construction of the line connecting it with Cawnpore and Bombay, and the weavers and cotton printers were said to be leaving the town in search of other employment. The number of towns and villages was now returned as 1,709, of which 1,551 contained less than 1,000 inhabitants; 147 between 1,000 and 5,000; six between 5,000 and 10,000; while Kananj (17,618) and Farrukhabad alone exceeded 15,000. The total number of inhabited sites was 4,220, and the density of the population was 109·1 to the square mile.

The next decade was a dry one, and the comparative effects of excessive and deficient rainfall in this district were well illustrated by the figures of the last census in 1901. The population rose to 925,812, the highest figure yet recorded and an increase of 7·8 during the ten years. The Kananj tahsil, which had alone successfully withstood the wet seasons, was the only one to suffer from the drought, and lost 2·63 per cent. of its population. All the other tahsils, which were protected by canal irrigation, showed increases varying from 17 per cent. in Kaimganj to 2·2 per cent. in Farrukhabad, and there is good reason to believe that the loss in Kananj was due to movements of its population to the more prosperous portions of the district. The density of the population per square mile was 538·5, or, excluding the city of Farrukhabad, 501·7. Of the six tahsils the most populous was Farrukhabad with a density of 740·6 to the square mile, Kananj coming next with 631, and then Chhibramau with 527·9, while Tirwa had 475, Kaimganj 462·7, and Aligarh 461.

How far the decrease in population between 1881 and 1891 and the increase during the following decade were due to migration cannot be accurately ascertained, but some light is thrown on the question by the returns showing the birth places of the

people. From these it appears that in 1901 the percentage of the inhabitants born in the district was 88.45, while 9.74 were natives of contiguous districts and 1.78 per cent. of other parts of India. Of all the persons enumerated in India who gave Farrukhabad as their birth-place 86.93 per cent. were then residing in their native district, while 12.46 per cent. were found in other districts of the province, and .61 in other provinces of India. The proportion of emigrants to the population born in the district was thus 13.07 as compared with 15.60 in 1891, and it is clear that the series of prosperous seasons had brought about a considerable return of emigrants. The percentage of immigrants to the total population was 11.5, and among these females outnumbered males by nearly two to one. This is a phenomenon of universal occurrence, and is due to the marriage custom which prescribes the taking of a bride from another caste subdivision. In the city of Farrukhabad the proportion of foreigners was slightly larger than in the district as a whole, natives forming 86.45 per cent. of the total.

In 1901 Farrukhabad contained 1,697 inhabited towns and villages, of which 1,168 contained less than 500 inhabitants apiece; 340 contained between 500 and 1,000; 144 between 1,000 and 2,000; 87 between 2,000 and 5,000; while eight exceeded the latter figure. Besides the municipality of Farrukhabad there are five towns administered under Act XX of 1856, namely Shamsabad, Chhibramau, Tirwa, Talgram and Thatia. Kaimganj and Kanauj, formerly administered under the above Act, are now notified areas. The urban population formed 13.6 per cent. of the whole, a proportion somewhat in excess of the provincial average of 11.23. The villages are smaller than is usual in the division, the average number of inhabitants in each being only 479.52 as compared with 741.22 in Muttra and 689.40 in Agra, though here again the provincial average is exceeded. Most of the larger villages are split up into hamlets, the cultivator preferring to live in close proximity to his fields, and the number of inhabited sites exceeds that of villages by nearly four to one. For the whole district the average number of persons per house is 6.76, while for the city of Farrukhabad it is only 5.5. Both in towns and villages the plan of the ordinary house is the same: an open square

or courtyard with one entrance, surrounded on all four sides by the dwelling rooms, whose only opening for the admission of both light and air is the door, but while in the villages the building material is usually mud, in the towns brick is more common and the greater scarcity and cost of land has led to the addition of several storeys.

Of the total population 500,397 were males and 424,915 females, the latter thus standing to the former in the proportion of 848 to 1,000. This defect of females is common to the Duab districts, but excluding the districts of Dehra Dun and Naini Tal, where the conditions are peculiar, there are only two in the provinces where the proportion of females is smaller. In the provinces as a whole the proportion is 937 to 1,000, and in the east females preponderate. No explanation of the phenomenon has yet been given. The practice of infanticide, which in the past no doubt contributed to keep down the number of women, is now extinct, and the vital statistics show that every year the male births considerably exceed the female. Nor can the concealment of females be assigned as a reason, for the motives which prompt such a line of action are as operative in the east as in the west. There would appear to be some obscure climatic influence at work which causes a gradual and almost regular increase in the proportion of females from north-west to south-east of the provinces in both the sub-Himalayan districts and the Indo-Gangetic plain. And thus geographical variation is not confined to these provinces, for the proportion for the Panjab on the census of 1901 is 856, for these provinces 937, and for Bengal 938. In the city of Farrukhabad, where a variety of artificial conditions interfere with the causes at work in the district, the proportion of females rises to 938.

Hinduism is the dominant religion in Farrukhabad, no less than 814,658 persons or 87·99 per cent. of the total population declaring their adherence to that creed. Of the remainder 106,880, or 11·54 per cent., were Musalmans, 2,155 belonged to the Arya Samaj, 1,128 were Christians, 741 Jains, 188 Sikhs and 117 Buddhists. The Musalmans of this district, unlike those of the neighbouring districts, have increased at a slower rate than the Hindus, the respective percentages of increase being 7·4 and 7·8

during the decade. The Arya Samaj has made remarkable strides here as in other Duab districts. In 1881 no members were returned, but in 1891 its adherents numbered 877, and in 1901 they had increased to 2,155. Jains, on the other hand, have decreased in numbers, after rising from 314 in 1881 to 1,048 in 1891. Buddhists are unusually numerous, only Allahabad and Almora returning a higher figure among all the districts in the provinces. The Sikhs are nearly all in Government service.

Christian missionary effort is represented in Farrukhabad by the American Presbyterian Mission which began operations in 1838, when the Rev. H. Wilson came to the district. Fifty orphans collected by a civilian at Fatehpur and twenty more of whom Captain Wheeler had taken charge at Fatehgarh were handed over to him, and these formed the nucleus of the new organization. In 1841 the mission was granted a fifty-year lease of a tract of land about a mile to the south-west of Fatehgarh. Here an industrial school was started and the children as they grew up were taught various trades and farming, until in course of time a village, named Rakha, was organized. For the first few years the experiment was eminently successful. The tent factory, in particular, became famous and for some time brought in a profit of 200 per cent. on the capital invested, but after the Mutiny the mission relinquished the control of it into the hands of the native converts, and though for a time the industry continued to prosper the temptations of drink and improper business methods proved too strong, and the business ultimately collapsed, the whole tract of land having a few years ago to be returned to Government. The first church was erected at Rakha in 1856, but was partially destroyed with all the other mission buildings during the Mutiny, the walls and steeple alone escaping. The Mission now maintains four churches and a number of educational institutions, among which may be mentioned a boys' high school and a central school for girls at Farrukhabad, a girls' boarding school at Rakha, and at Burhpur a boys' boarding and industrial school and a training school for mission workers. Both the boarding schools have an average enrolment of over 125, while the average attendance at the high school exceeds 300. Medical work has also recently been started.

The vast majority of Hindus in this as in other districts of the province failed to specify the particular sect or religious denomination to which they belonged, and owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the replies received by the enumerators at the census no attempt was made to tabulate more than a few of the sects returned. Nearly nine per cent. of the total number of Hindus declared themselves monotheists, or believers in one supreme God, while about half that number declared Saiva to be their tutelary deity, the worshippers of Vishnu being rather less numerous again. Of the various sects of Saivism the best represented was the Lingan, forming over 63 per cent. of the whole, whose members worship Mahadeo, through the medium of the phallic emblem, as the Reproducer. Nearly half the Vaishnavites were Ramanandis, a high proportion probably due, like the otherwise inexplicable increase in the numbers of this sect all over the provinces, to the fact that "it was the first of the few sects whose names were given as examples, and was therefore selected by many enumerators as a suitable sect to record for persons who named Vishnu as their tutelary deity but could not say what sect they belonged to." The only other sects found in any numbers were the followers of Nanak Shah, of whom there were 6,153, and Kabirpanthis, who mustered 4,129 members.

The variety of castes represented in the district is large, no less than 67 being returned at the census, exclusive of subcastes, while 599 persons did not specify their caste. Though many of the castes were sparsely represented, twenty had over ten thousand members apiece and made up between them nearly 90 per cent. of the total Hindu population, while several comparatively rare castes were found here in unusually large numbers.

First in point of number came the Kisans with 93,833 representatives, or 11.52 per cent. of the total Hindu population. The number is remarkable, as only 345 members of the caste are found in the rest of the division, and it is almost unknown outside Rohilkhand, Oudh and Kumaon. The Kisans are excellent cultivators, resembling in their methods the Lodhas of other districts, and form the backbone of the district agriculture.

They are found plentifully in every tahsil though Tirwa and Farrukhabad are their chief strongholds.

Chamars numbered 93,321, or 11·46 per cent. of the total Hindu population, and were distributed pretty evenly throughout the district, though they were comparatively rare in the Aligarh tahsil, while in Kanauj they outnumbered every other caste and formed over 13 per cent. of the whole population of the tahsil. They are employed in cultivation and as general labourers. Though they own no land in proprietary right, they hold 4·6 per cent. of the tenants' area, and are good, hard-working cultivators.

Ahirs came third with 89,273, or 10·96 per cent. of the Hindu population. They head the list in Farrukhabad and Kaimganj and are also found in considerable strength in the other tahsils. Primarily herdsmen, they have gradually taken to cultivation, and their villages are often situated in the midst of *usar* plains where they originally settled for the sake of the grazing. They are however indifferent cultivators, and their villages are generally inferior. They hold rather less than 2 per cent. of the total area of the district as proprietors, and nearly 14 per cent. of the tenants' area is in their hands.

The fourth place was taken by Brahmans with 75,635, or 9·28 per cent. of the total Hindu population. Their distribution is very equal, but they occur in greatest force in Chhibramau, where they are the most numerous caste. As landlords they take the next place to Thakurs, holding slightly over 19 per cent. of the total area, though they have lost more than 15 per cent. of their possessions since the last settlement. The Bishengarh estate, which was formerly one of the most important in the district, has now been nearly all sold up, and the two largest Brahman proprietors are now Chaube Bhajan Lal of Chhibramau and Pandit Lachmi Narain of Farrukhabad. As cultivators Brahmans hold about 15 per cent. of the tenants' area, but they make only moderately successful farmers. The Brahmans of this district belong mostly to the Kanaujiya subdivision which takes its name from the ancient city of Kanauj, and though the members of the *khatkul*, or six highest clans, are extremely particular in the observance of rules of ceremonial purity, other

Kanaujiyas do not shrink from agricultural soldiering or service, and they furnish many recruits for Brahman regiments.

Rajputs or Thakurs numbered 72,762, or 8.93 per cent. of the total Hindu population, and have increased very largely since the previous census, when they mustered 59,591. Though they still rank only fifth in point of numbers they are in other respects by far the most important caste in the district, holding nearly 38 per cent. of the total area of the district as proprietors, while as tenants they cultivate 20 per cent. of the holdings' area. As cultivators they are about on a par with Brahmans, and the smaller proprietors are very generally in debt. Like their brethren in the neighbouring districts of Etah and Mainpuri, they have lost heavily during the period of the last settlement, nearly 14 per cent. of their possessions having passed into other hands. The caste is somewhat unevenly distributed over the district, the three tahsils of Tirwa, Farrukhabad and Aligarh containing between them some 75 per cent. of the whole, while in the last-named Thakurs are the most numerous caste.

The Rajput tribe is made up of a number of clans, and of the more important of these some account may here be given. First in point of number come the Rathors, with 7,852 members, forming 10.7 per cent. of the whole clan. They claim descent from Raja Jaichand of Kanauj, who was defeated and slain by Shahab-ud-din Ghori in 1193, but unfortunately modern research has proved that Raja to have belonged to the Gaharwar sept. A Rathor dynasty, founded by Parjan Pal, was established at Khor, near the modern Shamsabad, until the middle of the fifteenth century, when Karan, the eighth Raja, was expelled by the king of Jaunpur, and it is through Karan that the Farrukhabad Rathors claim descent from Raja Jaichand. They originally settled in the Muhammadabad pargana, whence they spread over Shamsabad West, and they are said to have occupied the Amritpur pargana some three centuries ago, where they founded Rajepur Rathori and other villages. The most important member of the clan is now the chief of Khimsepur in Shamsabad East, who still bears the title of Rao. The Rathors own 42,556 acres, or rather over one-tenth of the total area held by Thakurs. Next in number to the Rathors come the Obsahans with 6,219

representatives, or 8·54 of the Thakur population. They claim a common descent with the Chauhans of Mainpuri from Prithiraj, the last Chauhan king of Dehli, killed in 1198 by Shahab-ud-din Ghori. Their traditional history centres round the ruined fort of Jijhota in the Kaimganj tahsil, whose foundation is ascribed to a Raja Jogajit who settled there some sixteen generations ago. They now own over 15,000 acres and have been increasing their possessions since the last settlement. The Ganrs, who numbered 5,045 or 6·8 per cent. of the Thakurs, held at the time of the settlement 26,252 acres as proprietors. They are said to have come from Rohilkhand under two brothers, Sarhe and Barhe, of whom the former settled in Shamsabad West, while the latter occupied Shamsabad East and Bhojpur. The Bais Thakurs, who of course say they came from Daundia Khera, established themselves first in parganas Sakatpur and Saurikh, and, then crossing the Isan, in a few villages in Chhibramau and Talgram. A large colony of Bais is also found in Paramnagar. As landholders the Bais now rank second among the Thakur clans, holding 59,662 acres, though they lost over 22 per cent. of their estates during the currency of the 1870 settlement. The Sombausis, of whom 4,221 were enumerated, are a tribe of more importance in Oudh than in the province of Agra, and comparatively rare in the rest of the division. It is in the Aligarh tahsil, which borders on Oudh, that they are found in greatest strength, and in that tahsil they hold 26,644 acres, or nearly a quarter of the total area, their possessions in the remainder of the district amounting to only 657 acres. The Gaharwars numbered 3,866 and have now but a shadow of their former importance. Chandradeva, who seized the throne of Kanauj in 1090 A.D., was a Gaharwar, and his descendants continued to reign there for over a century until the defeat of Jaichand by the Musalman invaders. Their own family legends state that the clan originally came to the district under two brothers named Man and Mahesh. The former settled in pargana Amritpur, where his followers acquired forty-two villages, which fact has given the name Bialisi to their territory. Mahesh settled in Bhojpur; and the tract lying to the south-east of that pargana, and known by the name of the Gaharwari, was populated by that

in each of the taluqs. The Gahluwars still own 5,622 acres in the Aligarh tahsil and 5,457 in Bhojpur, while their total possessions in the district amount to 22,789 acres. The Panwars, Pramaats or Pomars, who numbered only 2,017, are scarcely found outside the Aligarh tahsil. According to their own traditions they settled several centuries ago in pargana Amritpur by favour of the Raja of Khor. The sons of their leader Sindhapal Singh quarrelled with and were expelled by Partab Rai, the Kayasth minister of the Raja, but one son, Basant Sahi, returned and recovered the estate. The Panwars are still the leading landholders in Amritpur, coming second in the whole Aligarh tahsil to the Sombansis, with 22,958 acres. The Gahlots, who numbered 2,274, have their headquarters in the Tirwa tahsil, where they still own 9,875 acres though they have lost over a third of their possessions in that tahsil during the currency of the last settlement. They are of the Gohilul gotra and speak of Chitor as the home of their ancestors. Govind Rao, the founder of the colony, is said to have come with Pirthiraj, the Delhi prince, in his expedition against Jaichand of Kanauj, and to have received 180 villages in this district and the adjoining parganas of Cawnpore as a reward for the valour he displayed. From him the Gahlots have preserved a pedigree, but as the number of generations it shows involves the calculation of over forty years to a generation it is probable that some names have dropped out of the list. The Parihars are a clan which has fallen very far from its old estate. Though it can now only muster 1,575 representatives in the district and owns only 4,255 acres, it once gave kings to Kanauj whose dominion lasted for more than two centuries, from 810, when Nagabhata came from Rajputana and conquered the kingdom, to 1019, when the city was taken by Mahmud of Ghazni. Baghels are a clan for whom separate figures were not given at the recent census, but in 1891 they numbered 2,381 and were comparatively rare in most other districts of the provinces. They trace their origin to Madhogarh, and fix their settlement in the time of Jaya Chandra, a story which is borne out by Abul Fazi. Their original settlement was not insignificant, but as a clan they have long since lost all influence, and their name is only worthy of note because the Raja of Tirwa

belongs to it. The Baghels own 103,983 acres, or more than a quarter of the entire Thakur holding in the district, but most of this belongs to the Raja of Tirwa and further details will be found under the history of his family.

After Rajputs come Kachhis with 69,706 representatives, or 8.56 per cent. of the total Hindu population. They are found in considerable numbers in every tahsil, but are most plentiful in Farrukhabad and Kanungj, those two tahsils between them containing nearly half the Kachhis in the district. Here as elsewhere they are first-class cultivators, specialising in the intense cultivation of small areas, particularly in the environs of towns. They pay higher rents than any other caste, a distinction which they owe partly to their superior skill which enables them to get more out of their land, and partly to the fact that their style of market-gardening requires the best quality of soil.

Next in numerical importance come Gadariyas, of whom there were 29,649, or 3.64 per cent. of the total Hindu population. They are properly shepherds, goatherds and blanket-weavers, but many of them have taken to cultivation and proved themselves very fairly successful farmers, being reckoned considerably superior to the Ahirs, who have adopted a similar change of habits.

Kurmis numbered 28,495, or 3.50 per cent. of the total Hindu population, a figure which is not approached by any other district of the division. They rank with the Kachhis as the best cultivators in the district, though their style of farming is broader and on a larger scale. Though less than half as numerous as the Kachhis they hold very nearly as much land as tenants, but cultivating soils of all qualities as they do, they pay somewhat lower rents. Their distribution among the tahsils is very uneven, the great bulk of the caste being found in Farrukhabad, Kanungj, and Kanungj, while across the Ganges they are almost unknown.

Kahars aggregated 25,940, or 3.19 per cent. of the entire Hindu population. Sometimes called Dhimars, their traditional occupations are fishing, the cultivation of water-nuts, and palanquin carrying. They also engage to a considerable extent

in ordinary cultivation and hold over ten thousand acres as tenants.

Banias were enumerated to the number of 22,600, or 2.77 per cent. of the total Hindu population. Their most important local sub-castes are the Agarwals and Umars, of whom the former are mostly bankers and money-lenders on a large scale, while the latter are petty shop-keepers and traders. In Farrukhabad, as in other districts, Banias are nowadays turning their attention to the land as a profitable form of investment, and though they as yet own under 4 per cent. of the total area they have increased their possessions by over 78 per cent. since the 1870 settlement, and the process of acquisition continues steadily.

Of the other Hindu castes found in the district none occur in numbers exceeding 20,000 and but few call for special comment. Those exceeding 10,000 in number are the Telis (175,666), Dhobis (16,341), Dhanuks (15,916), Koris (15,718), Naia (13,470), Lohars (12,193), Kayasths (11,955), Bhairbhunjas (11,813) and Kunhars (11,429). These are all well-known tribes and present no local peculiarities. Next in order come Barhais, Bhangis, Sonars, Khatiks, Dairis, Malis, Fagis, Baheriyas, Chhipis, Patwas, Joshis, Bhats, Beldars, Sadhs, Kalwars, Luniyas, Tamolis and Nats, all of whom exceed 2,000 in number. The Sadhs are a caste which is almost peculiar to Farrukhabad, though there are one or two small colonies of them elsewhere. They were returned at the census as a Hindu caste, and it has been held judicially that the Hindu law of succession applies to them, but they should perhaps rather be regarded as an independent sect, for they follow none of the ordinary practices of Hinduism. They are Unitarians, worshipping one God, the author of the universe, under the name of Satya Guru, or Satya Nam, and permitting no material representation of him of any kind. Their religion forbids them either to tell a lie or to take an oath, and they are prohibited from using any kind of drug or intoxicant. Adults are supposed to wear a white dress but no caste marks are allowed. Almost all the community is concentrated in the city of Farrukhabad, where they occupy almost exclusively one of the city muballas, the "Sadhwara." There are elsewhere Sadhs who till the soil, but here they are townsfolk pure and simple.

The cloth-printing industry is entirely in their hands, and the richer members of the community are bankers and merchants while some are large landowners. The poorer are traders and artisans. Connection with other colonies of Sadhs is maintained by annual gatherings of the sect, held in turn at its various centres. The Sadh wears a distinctive headgear consisting of a hard, round, white hat like an inverted bowl and his customary salute is performed by holding up both hands with the palms outwards. Of the smaller castes the Radhas and Bhagats may be mentioned on account of their comparative rarity, nearly half the provincial total of the latter tribe being collected in Farrukhabad. Both are professional singers and dancers and are found in greatest strength in the city of Farrukhabad, though a few occur in the other tahsils.

The census returns show that as is usual in these provinces the Sunnis of Farrukhabad vastly outnumber the Shi'ahs among the Musalmans, the latter sect forming only 2 per cent. of the total Musalman population. The minor sects are quite unimportant, the Lalbegis, who were the most numerous, amounting only to 1,562, a figure which coincides almost exactly with the number of Musalman Bhangis enumerated. The Musalmans of the district are subdivided into no less than 53 different castes, the converts from Hinduism having in many cases retained their old caste names along with a number of their caste customs. But most of these are of little importance, having in nineteen instances a membership of under a hundred, while fifteen others have less than 500 representatives apiece. The two great castes which between them comprise over 60 per cent. of the total Muhammadan population of the district are the Pathans and the Sheikhs.

As might be expected in a district where the Bangash Afghans so long held sway, the Pathans, or persons of Afghan descent, take the first place with 34,739 representatives, or 32.50 per cent. of the total Musalman population. They still muster most strongly in the neighbourhood of the earlier Bangash strongholds, Kaimganj and Farrukhabad, over 70 per cent. of the tribe being collected in those two tahsils. Of their various subdivisions the Bangash is the most numerous forming 11.1 per cent. of the whole clan, while Ghoria, Khataks and Yusufzai

between them contribute another 26 per cent. The Nawa family of Farrukhabad, of whom an account will be given later is the head of the Bangash subdivision. A certain number of Pathans, particularly those from Kaimgarh, enlist in the army.

Next in number to Pathans come Shirkhs, who number 29,812 or 27.89 per cent. of the total Musalman population. They include the majority of new converts to Islam, and it is natural that they should be numerous when the proselytizing zeal of the earlier Bangash Nawabs is remembered. Their two principal subdivisions are the Qureshi and the Siddiq, which form respectively 38.2 and 36.2 per cent. of the whole tribe. The tahsils of Farrukhabad and Kauraj are their chief strongholds, but they are found in fair numbers all over the district.

Behnas or Dhunas, the caste of cotton-carders, numbered 7,122, and Saiyids 5,794. The latter are of considerably greater importance than their comparatively small numbers suggest, as several of the principal landlords are Saiyids. After them come Julahas, 4,300, Faqirs, 4,196, Darzis, 2,697, and Rajputs, 2,405. The last-named, who are converts from the various Rajput clans, still form a distinct class among the Muslims of Farrukhabad, and are sometimes known as Thakur Naumuslins. Many of them have not yet altogether abandoned their Hindu traditions, though the extent to which these survive differs greatly in different villages and their prevalence has greatly diminished in the last generation. But there are few Musalman Rajputs who would eat beef. In some villages, especially in pargana Bhojpur, the class system of marriage is retained, and Brahmans are called in to determine the auspicious day for the wedding. They still use the *chowka* and plaster the ground afresh for cooking, while their women wear the *lahngi*, and have their ears pierced in the Hindu fashion. A large number of the Musalman Rajputs are the descendants of the *chelas* of Muhammad Khan, the first Bangash Nawab, who had a passion for converting to Islam all the Hindu boys of whom he could get hold, and is supposed to have made some 4,000 *chelas* during his lifetime, many of them being the sons of powerful rajas who had been defeated in battle. Next in order come Mamhars Bhangis, Qasabs, Kunjras,

Mughals and Tawarifs, no other caste being found in numbers exceeding a thousand.

According to the census returns the agricultural population in 1901 amounted to 60·9 per cent. of the whole, while ·8 per cent. were engaged in the kindred pursuits connected with the breeding and care of animals. The former figure is lower than the provincial average of 65·4 and considerably smaller than any returned in the surrounding districts. The industrial population, on the other hand, was comparatively large, comprising 17·7 per cent of the whole community. The most important occupations represented were the manufacture of textile fabrics and dress, which accounted for about one-third of the whole class, rather less than another third being engaged in the provision of articles of food and drink, while the remainder were mainly engaged in the working of wood and metal and the production of vessels of glass and earthenware. General unskilled labour, other than agricultural, absorbed 6·4 per cent and personal service 6·1 per cent. The transport and storage of goods employed 1·9 per cent., while ·9 per cent were engaged in commerce, as merchants, bankers or agents. Government service took up 1·5 per cent, and 2 per cent belonged to the various learned and artistic professions. This is an unusually large proportion, but the classification is a wide one covering a variety of occupations ranging from religion down to dancing. The percentage of the population possessing means of subsistence independent of any occupation was 1·5, and this again was a comprehensive class, including gentlemen of property, State pensioners, mendicants and individuals maintained at the expense of Government in jails and reformatories.

In Farrukhabad, as in the rest of the Western Gangetic Plain, Western Hindi is the universal language, the particular dialect in general use being the Kanaujia. According to the census returns, 99·91 per cent. of the inhabitants of the district spoke Western Hindi as their mother-tongue, the remaining ·09 per cent. consisting of the various immigrants and foreigners domiciled in the district. It is rather in grammatical forms than in vocabulary that the local dialect differs from those in use in the rest of the provinces the words for eating ploughing,

and other every-day actions being much the same as elsewhere. Farrukhabad has in the past produced a considerable number of men of letters and historians, who flourished chiefly in the days of the Bangash dynasty. Such were Munshi Sahib Rai, editor of the *Khujasta Qalam* (1746-47), or Letters of Nawab Muhammad; Saiyid Hisam-ud-din Gwaliari, compiler of an original work on the reigns of his contemporaries, the Nawabs Muhammad Khan, Qaim Khan, Imam Khan and Ahmad Khan, and author of the *Khulasa-i-Bangash*, written apparently in the time of the first Nawab. During British rule have been published the *Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad* of Mufti Wali-ullah (1829-30); the *Lauh-i-Tarikh* of Munavvar Ali Khan, edited by Mir Bahadur Ali (1839-40); and the *Fatehgarh-nama* of deputy collector Kali Rai (1845). Another history of uncertain date, written partly in bombastic verse, is the *Muharabat-i-Mughuliya la Afghaniya*, or Struggle between the Mughals and Pathans. This Mr. Irvine believes to have been written in the eighteenth century by Nawab Baka-ullah, Khan Alam, military governor of Kora in Fatehpur. Other half-forgotten poetical pieces have been composed by local minstrels such as Bhabuti Bhat of Ataipur near Kaimganj, who for an ode on Nawab Ahmad Khan's victory at Khudaganj was rewarded with a tax-free village. But the most distinguished authors whose names are connected with the district lived there for a time only. Such were Abd-ul-Qadir, writer of the *Tarikh-i-Budaoni*, who once dwelt at Shamsabad: and the poets Sauda and Mir Soz, who were for a long time in the employ of Nawab Ahmad's minister Mihrban Khan, himself a poet. There is still a certain amount of literary activity in the district, as many as twelve printing presses being in existence in the city of Farrukhabad, while one newspaper is published there. The first public library was founded by M. Nand Kishore, a retired deputy collector, in 1898, and provided by him with a building and a number of valuable books, various news papers being also taken in. This, which is called the Diamond Jubilee Library, was followed in 1899 by another, opened by Mr. Dewhurst, who was then collector of the district. The management of this library is in the hands of a committee of forty members, and its object is to raise the level of

literary taste by placing within the reach of all classes of the native community books which it would otherwise be impossible for them to obtain and read. English newspapers and periodicals as well as vernacular are subscribed to, and the library is open to the public. A third public library is in Kaimganj and was started a few years ago by Chaube Parmanand, Rai Bahadur.

The forms of proprietary tenure occurring in this district are for the most part the same as those found in other districts of the province of Agra. Of the 3,563 *mahals* into which the 1,819 villages of the district are divided, 931 are owned in single *zamindari*, 1,501 in joint *zamindari*, 489 in perfect *pattidari*, 557 in imperfect *pattidari* and 85 in *bhaiyachara* tenures. Joint *zamindari* is thus the most common form of tenure, and outnumbers the others in every tahsil. The *bhaiyachara* tenure, on the other hand, is almost confined to the Sadar and Kaimganj tahsils, only five *mahals* being held under it in Kanauj and Tirwa, while in Chhibramau and Aligarh it is unknown. There are a few *talugdari* villages in pargana Sakatpur held by *biswadars*, or inferior proprietors who pay to the superior proprietors a *malikana* of 10 per cent. on the revenue. The Tirwa raj and other large estates are sometimes called *talugas*; but in these the superior and inferior rights, if such ever existed side by side, have been merged in the sole proprietors or zamindars. The only class of landholders which exhibits any unusual features is that of the *dobiswadars* in pargana Sakrawa. This pargana was formerly the revenue-free domain of the Farrukhabad Nawab. In 1846 an enquiry was instituted to ascertain the almost forgotten rights of subordinate proprietors; and in some villages the cultivating bodies were found enjoying an undisputed tenth of the village assets. For this reason they were named *dobiswadars*, or holders of two *biswas* in every *bigha* of 20. In commutation of their rights they received a rent-free portion of the village lands, and this *nankar* they still enjoy. Outside Sakrawa *dobiswadars* are unknown except in M. Kaimpur of pargana Saurikh and M. Punther of pargana Kampil.

The proportion of the land held by the various castes has already been mentioned in the course of the description of the

castes themselves, but it will be convenient to recapitulate the facts here. Rajputs are still the principal landowners holding nearly 38 per cent. of the total area, as against over 43 per cent. at the 1870 settlement. The greatest losers have been the smaller proprietors, and the Raja of Tirwa has actually increased his estate. Next in importance come Brahmans with 19 per cent. of the district in their hands, though they again have lost considerably, over 15 per cent of their domains having passed from them. Musalmans take the third place with 17 per cent., and Kayasths the fourth with 8 per cent, both classes having considerably extended their possessions since the last settlement. But their gains are insignificant when compared with those of the mercantile classes. Banias, who now rank fifth in the list of landlords, have added nearly 79 per cent to their former area, while Khatris have increased their holding more than three-fold and Sadhs more than five-fold. Marwaris, who owned no land at all at the time of the 1870 settlement, now own 1,398 acres, and the Delhi and London Bank has acquired 1,448 acres. Kurmis in this district hold even more land as proprietors than as tenants and come close behind Banias with well over 3 per cent. of the total area. Among the other castes in possession of small areas may be mentioned the Ahirs, Tamolis and Lodhas, of whom the latter have only entered the ranks of proprietors during the last few years. It is a remarkable circumstance that the Thakurs and Brahmans are almost the only two castes in the district who have lost ground, all the others to whom reference has been made having gained at the expense of these two. The district is one of small owners, the only large estate, since the break-up of the Bishengarh property, being that of the Raja of Tirwa.

This chief is a Baghel Rajput, who, like most of his clan, traces his origin to Baghelkhand or Rewa. Tradition alleges that the first of the family to settle in the district was one Bhairon Partab, a contemporary of Jaya Chandra, Raja of Kanauj. But the real founder of the house seems to have been one Harhar Das, or his son. Dharam Das, who established himself at Tusabari near Tirwa about 1700. His son, Dharam Das moved to Tera Khat and founded Dharampur, but it

was not till the time of his grandson, Partab Singh, that the family became of any note. Partab Singh acted as agent for the Maratha governor of Kanauj, from whom he acquired thirty-five villages, and subsequently gaining the favour of the Oudh governor, Almas Ali Khan, was granted the title of Rao. Partab Singh had six sons, of whom the eldest was Sumer Singh, who fought in the army of Shuja-ud-daula at Buxar and afterwards received from the emperor Shah Alam the title of Raja and a *mansab* of 3,000. His property was known as the Tirwa *taluga*, and consisted of eighty-seven villages. On Sumer Singh's death without issue his next brother Raja Damar Singh succeeded to the title and estates with the exception of the *taluga* of Thatia, which fell to the share of a younger brother, Laik Singh. He also obtained the title of Raja, and held seventy-one villages, which he left to his son Chhattarsal. The latter resisted the British Government in 1805, and the fort of Thatia was taken by storm, the property was confiscated, but eventually two villages were restored to his adopted son, Sheoraj Singh. Pokhar Singh, the grandson of Sheoraj, rebelled during the Mutiny and the estate was once more forfeited. Raja Damar Singh of Tirwa was succeeded by his son, Raja Anrudh Singh, who died in 1803. His eldest son, Raja Jaswant Singh, died in 1815 and the estate and title passed to his brother, Raja Pitam Singh. The latter was succeeded in 1835 by his son Jagat Singh, who died without issue in 1857. He had adopted Udit Narayan Singh, a descendant of Raja Anrudh Singh's younger brother Dhaukal Singh. The late Raja was only two years old at the time of the Mutiny, and the estate was managed on his behalf by his mother, who assumed an independent attitude during the disturbances and refused to pay revenue to the rebel leaders. The estate was managed by the court of wards after the restoration of order, and was released when the Raja attained his majority. Raja Udit Narayan Singh died in 1907 and was succeeded by his son, Durga Narayan Singh, who was born in 1896. The property has again come under management pending the attainment of his majority by the new Raja. The estates in Farrukhabad consist of 136 entire villages and nine *pattis* in

the tahsils of Farrukhabad, Tirwa, Kanauj and Chhibramau, on which Rs. 1,56,403 are paid as revenue ; and the Raja also owns fifteen villages and two *pattis*, paying revenue Rs. 15,056 in Mainpuri, thirteen villages and five *pattis*, revenue Rs. 16,338 in Cawnpore ; and one village, revenue Rs. 1,540, in Etawah.

Another important Thakur landholder is the Rathor Rao of Khimsepur, who claims descent from the old Rajas of Khor. The head of the family is the Raja of Rampur in Etah, and the Khimsepur branch was founded by Udai Chand, who settled at Maudha in the Muhammadabad pargana in 1583. His grandson, Rai Kishan Rao, built the fort at Khimsepur, which has since been the headquarters of the family. His descendants hold a large property, but this has become gradually reduced by subdivision and other causes, and the estate though valuable is now small. At the cession Rao Indarjit was in possession. He died in 1826, and was succeeded by his grandson, Rao Dal Singh, who held the estate till 1841. He was followed by Rao Pirthi Singh, who died childless in 1875, having adopted Baldeo Singh of the Dalupur family. Rao Pirthi Singh remained loyal during the Mutiny, and was rewarded in 1863 with two villages. Rao Baldeo Singh died in 1887, leaving a widow, Thakurain Baisni, who held the property till her death on the 15th January 1900. The succession was disputed, and for some time the title remained in abeyance ; but a contested adoption was finally decided in favour of Rao Partab Narayan Singh, the son of Kunwar Ganesh Singh and a distant relative of Baldeo Singh. On the 29th October 1907 Rao Partab Narayan Singh died and on the following day there was born to him a son, named Udit Narayan Singh, who has succeeded to the title and estate. The property comprises four entire villages and shares in eighteen others scattered over every tahsil in the district with the exception of Aligarh, but the great bulk of it is in Shamsabad East in the neighbourhood of Khimsepur. The estate, which pays Rs. 6,089 in land revenue, was until three or four years ago under the management of the court of wards.

Another family of considerable importance, though of comparatively recent settlement in the district, is that of the so-called Nawabs of Shamsabad. In 1824 Nawab Fazl Ah Khan

the Prime Minister of Nasir-ud-din Haidar, King of Oudh, purchased three villages in the Farrukhabad tahsil. He died in 1827, and in 1835 or 1836 his daughter Nawab Jafri Begam came to the district and settled at Shamsabad, where she bought a good deal of land. Her husband, Saiyid Muhammad Ali Khan *alias* Nawab Doolah, claimed descent from the Safawi house of Persia and so from the Prophet's son-in-law Ali. Jafri Begam, who died in 1887, left three sons and three daughters, all of whom have married and had large families, so that the estate has been much divided up. Of the three sons, S. Muhammad Jafar Ali Khan, *alias* Nawab Piare Sahib, has already distributed his property, on which revenue to the amount of Rs. 12,238 is paid, among his heirs; S. Muhammad Wali Khan, *alias* Nawab Jan Sahib, pays Rs. 10,491 in revenue; and S. Muhammad Mehdi Ali Khan, *alias* Achchhay Sahib, with his sons Haidar Sultan and Safdar Sultan, pays Rs. 10,045. One of the daughters, Fatimah Sultan Begam, married a rais of Cawnpore, where her children now live, though they still own land in Kaimganj paying revenue to the amount of Rs. 5,698. The families of the other two daughters, Sakinah Sultan Begam and Taqiyah Sultan Begam, own respectively land paying Rs. 6,609 and Rs. 6,843. All the members of the family, with the exception of the descendants of Fatimah Begam, reside at Shamsabad.

Its historical associations entitle the family of the Nawabs of Farrukhabad to mention though it has now fallen to a position of comparative unimportance among the land-owning houses of the district. The rise and progress of the family form a part of the general history of the district and will be found detailed there. Suffice it here to say that its founder, the first Nawab, was a Bangash Pathan who sprang from the colony of Afghans still settled in and around Mau Rashidabad of Kampil. He was succeeded by his younger son, the second Nawab, whose descendant, the eighth, was attainted for treason in 1857. He left two sons, Asghar Husain Khan by his first wife, and Muzaffar Husain Khan by his second. Asghar Husain Khan inherited a number of villages from his maternal great-grandmother *Munammamat* Mujib-un Begum as well as other property from his

mother. During his minority the estate was taken under the management of the court of wards, but was released in 1871, and soon became encumbered with debts. By 1904 the whole property had been sold, and Asghar Husain Khan, who is an honorary magisterate of Farrukhabad, now lives on a political pension. His numerous cousins also draw small pensions under the treaty of cession, but by successive partitions among co-heirs the sums received are in most cases exceedingly small.

The cultivating tenures prevalent in the district are the ordinary ones common to the whole province of Agra and call for no detailed description. In 1903, at the time of the recent settlement, the total holdings area amounted to 629,421 acres, of which 100,318 acres, or 16·1 per cent., were cultivated by the proprietors themselves as *sir* or *khudkasht*, 11,293 acres, or 1·8 per cent., were held by exproprietary tenants; 362,645 acres, or 58·4 per cent., were held by occupancy tenants; 125,287 acres, or 3·3 per cent., represented the area held rent-free for service or in other favoured tenures. The occupancy area had diminished by 37,942 acres or 9·47 per cent during the currency of the 1870 settlement, mainly on account of the very serious depreciation caused by the heavy rainfall between 1880 and 1888, when numbers of occupancy tenants gave up the inferior portions of their holdings. The enormous expansion of cultivation since the settlement of 1870 has considerably altered the proportions held in the various forms of tenure. The entire holdings area has now increased to 716,131 acres, and though the area held in occupancy right has risen by 12,860 acres it is now only 52·4 per cent. of the whole, while that held by tenants-at-will has increased to 20,225 acres or 28·2 per cent. The assumption area, on the other hand, has dropped to 94,453 acres, or 13·2 per cent. Exproprietary tenants hold 14,414 acres, or 2·01 per cent., and the rent-free area is 15,162 acres or 2·1 per cent. The proportion of the area held in occupancy right differs considerably in the different tahsils, varying from 66·1 per cent. in Tirwa to 40·2 in Aligarh. As a general rule the occupancy and assumption areas will be found to vary inversely. In the Tirwa tahsil for example the *sir* and *khudkasht* amount only to 8·4 per cent. of the whole, and in the Tirwa pargana, where only 4·8 per cent.

of the land is farmed by the proprietors themselves, the occupancy percentage rises to 70.2. Conversely, in parganas Pahara and Amritpur, where the assumption area forms as much as 21 per cent. of the whole, the area held by occupancy tenants falls to 36 and 37 per cent. It is only the better class of land which is capable of the continuous cultivation which confers occupancy rights and the larger the share of this reserved by the proprietors for their own cultivation the smaller will be the residue left for occupancy tenants.

Thakurs head the list of cultivating castes as they do that of proprietors, holding some 20 per cent. of the cultivated area. Next come Brahmans with 15 per cent., Ahirs with 14 per cent., and Kisans with 13 per cent. Kachhis, Musalmans and Kurmis each hold about 6 per cent and Chamars between 4 and 5 per cent. Gadariyas hold about 3 per cent., among the other castes with yet smaller holdings being Kayasths and Kahars. The best cultivators are the Kachhis and Kurmis, though in most tahsils their methods are opposite, the Kachhi going in for the intense cultivation of a small area while the Kurmi is the exponent of a broader cultivation. In a Kurmi village the *barhet* is equal to the *manjha* of an ordinary village, but the *gauhān* area is small. In the Farrukhabad tahsil, however, the Kurmi has changed his habits and cultivates a huge *gauhān* area, planted in rotation with maize, potatoes and tobacco, at the same time keeping up the cultivation of the outlying lands to an excellent standard. Kisans are very hard-working farmers and among the best tenants, as though they do not indulge in high cultivation their industry makes them exceedingly useful in poor villages where a constant struggle has to be maintained against *kans*. Thakurs and Brahmans are only moderate cultivators, though both are superior to the Ahir, who can never overcome his hereditary preference for stock, while what has been described as "his deep-rooted antipathy to a reasonable rent" makes him in other ways an undesirable tenant. Musalmans are not as a rule very good cultivators, but occasionally, as in pargana Kampil, they excel in high cultivation. Chamars are hard workers and good tenants. Taking the district as a whole the rates of rent paid by the various castes differ widely,

ranging from Rs 5 40 an acre in the case of Kachhis to Rs. 3-51 in that of Ahirs. But these differences disappear if the village be taken as the unit for analysis, and are based, not on caste privileges, but on cultivating ability. In a village containing both Kurmi and Brahman tenants there will be no difference between the rates paid by the two castes for similar qualities of land but a purely Kurmi village will as a rule pay higher rates than a purely Brahman village of similar advantages. The explanation is that the standard of cultivation is much higher in the Kurmi villages than in those where Brahmans are found alone, whereas in the mixed village the Kurmis set the standard and the Brahmans have to work up to it. The only trace of privileged rates to be found in the present settlement occurs in some villages with high caste owners and low caste professional cultivators. Here the fields cultivated by the owners themselves have been valued at lower rates than the rest.

Rents are almost invariably paid in cash, the grain-rented area amounting at the time of settlement only to 2,087 acres, or about .4 per cent. of the entire tenants' area, while it has since fallen to 1,298 acres. And even this small fraction consists only of the poorest land, where the prospects of any crop at all being reaped are so meagre that no rent can be fixed, landlord and tenant agreeing to share whatever may be produced. The cash rents are usually paid in a lump sum on the holding as a whole and not in separate sums on the individual fields. At the 1870 settlement the general rental incidence in non-alluvial tracts was Rs. 3-84, and the occupancy incidence exceeded the non-occupancy by Rs. .04 only. At the 1902 settlement the all-round incidence had risen before enhancement to Rs. 4-10, or, if the fallow land belonging to the holdings be excluded, to Rs. 4-36, and the occupancy incidence exceeded the non-occupancy by Rs. .17 in the one case and Rs. .29 in the other. After enhancement the all-round rate, excluding the rented fallow, rose to Rs. 4-55, and the percentage of increase in the occupancy incidence was 21-61, while in the case of non-occupancy holdings it was only 9-74. Occupancy tenants now pay Rs. .50 per acre more than tenants-at-will in non-alluvial tracts, the reason for this apparent anomaly being that they hold very much the better

land. Where both hold land of the same quality, the occupancy tenant pays on an average $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than the tenant-at-will. To the disproportionate rise in the occupancy rent-rate a variety of causes have contributed. In part it is due to the rise in the prices of agricultural produce, and in part to the spread of high cultivation which is almost confined to occupancy holdings. Another cause is to be found in the consequences of the deterioration which took place in the eighties. A great deal of the poorer and low-rented land forming part of occupancy holdings was then abandoned, with the result of increasing the incidence on the remainder, and while in the deteriorated tracts the occupancy rentals were left unchanged, a great deal of land was let out to tenants-at-will at low rents to encourage cultivation. The general rise in the prices of agricultural produce between the two settlements of 1870 and 1902 was about 17 per cent., and the fact that the non-occupancy incidence only increased 9.74 per cent. in the same period is a pretty clear indication that the rents of tenants-at-will were at the former settlement at about as high a pitch as they could reach. On the other hand, though the rise in the occupancy incidence has outstripped the rise in prices, most of it was due to enhancement by agreement between landlord and tenant without the intervention of the courts, conclusive proof that the occupancy rates were too low before and that their raising has not involved any hardship to the tenants. In 1908 the average rate of occupancy rents over the whole district was Rs. 4-4-7, the highest incidence being Rs. 9-6-6 in pargana Pahara with its huge area of close cultivation, and the lowest Rs. 3-6-4 in Kampil. The range of the non-occupancy incidence was from Rs. 10-0-1 in Pahara to Rs. 2-11-8 in Paramnagar where low rents are being generally offered as an inducement to cultivators to take up the depreciated lands. For sub-tenants the rates are naturally much higher. Even in the Aligarh tahsil the average is Rs. 5-15-8, and in pargana Pahara it is as much as Rs. 14-15-9, the district average working out to Rs. 7-9-8. The variations in the rates of rent paid for different qualities of soil are numerous and wide, ranging from as much as Rs. 46 per acre for the best class of irrigated *gauhan* to 12 annas per acre for the poorest irrigated *bar*

in the outlying tracts. In ordinary irrigated *gawhan* the rate varies from Rs 10 to Rs. 4-8-0, while in the *manjha* the average is about Rs. 8. The *gawhan* which pays the maximum just mentioned is of course very limited in area, being confined to the suburban circles where the Kachhis and others have their market gardens. Heavily manured and elaborately cultivated such land produces three good crops a year and is enormously remunerative. The recorded rents were found by the Settlement Officer to be correct as a general rule, only four rent-rolls being rejected on the ground of fraud.

n The preceding chapters will have served to give some idea of the character and condition of the population of Farrukhabad. At the present time the agricultural portion of the community is probably as prosperous as it has ever been. Protected as the district now is by canals, the recent series of dry years and the consequent high prices of all agricultural produce have been of the utmost benefit to the cultivators. Everywhere fresh land is being broken up and cultivation is extending, while the high rates of wages and the difficulty experienced in obtaining labour even at these rates prove that the labouring classes too are sharing in the general prosperity. The decay and practical disappearance of the indigo industry, which once held an important place in the district agriculture, no doubt caused a considerable amount of loss and inconvenience. But this is now a thing of the past and the remarkable expansion of potato and tobacco culture in the vicinity of the larger towns, which is now such a special feature of the district, has more than made good the loss. Unfortunately the difficulty of obtaining credit for loans except at every high interest has led to a very considerable degree of indebtedness among landlords and tenants alike, though the Thakur proprietary communities are perhaps the worst off in this respect. This chronic indebtedness is of course no new development, and it is not easy to see how it is to be remedied, unless by a great extension of the principle of co-operative credit and the multiplication of agricultural banks. The towns have unfortunately not shared in the general progress of the country. The decline of Farrukhabad as a trade centre and the resulting stagnation of its commerce and manufactures have checked the increase

of its population and driven away numbers of merchants and men of business, while the recent failure of several money-lending firms is a melancholy testimony to the commercial depression which now prevails.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION AND REVENUE.

The district of Farrukhabad is in the charge of a collector and magistrate, who is subject to the general control of the commissioner of the Agra division.* The staff includes a joint magistrate and assistant magistrate, who like the collector are members of the covenanted civil service, and four deputy collectors. The joint magistrate usually holds charge of the city and sadar tahsil, the criminal and revenue work of the other tahsils being distributed among the deputy collectors, to one of whom the treasury and the miscellaneous work at headquarters are entrusted. There are six tahsildars with magisterial powers of the second or third class and eleven honorary magistrates with third class powers. Six of these exercise jurisdiction within the city of Farrukhabad and when sitting as a bench exercise the powers of a magistrate of the second class, three sit at Kanauj with jurisdiction bounded by the limits of that town; the jurisdiction of the tenth extends through the police circles of Shamsabad and Nawabganj, and that of the eleventh within the limits of pargana Bhojpur, in the police circles of Kawalganj and Muhammadabad. Criminal appeals lie to the sessions judge, who is also the district judge in civil matters. There is in addition a subordinate judge with jurisdiction extending over the whole district, and three munsifs at Farrukhabad, Kanauj and Kaimganj, as well as an honorary munsif at Shamsabad. The remaining executive staff includes the superintendent and an assistant or deputy superintendent of police, the civil surgeon, the executive engineer, the district surveyor, the superintendent of salt revenue, the sub-deputy opium agent, the superintendent of post-offices, the assistant surgeon in charge of the headquarters dispensary, the headmaster of the zila school and the postmaster.

When the central Duab was ceded in 1802 by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh to the Company the parganas which had formed

* See note on p. 1.

the domains of the Nawab of Farrukhabad were formed into a single district to which the name of Farrukhabad was given from its chief town. The pargana of Sakrawa, which was still held revenue-free by the Nawab, was however separated from the rest and attached for administrative purposes to Etawah. The district so constituted was a very large one, comprising, in addition to the modern tahsils of Kaimganj and Farrukhabad and pargana Chhibramau, the greater part of the present Etah district and also the parganas of Bewar, Karauli and Sauj, which are now included in Mainpuri. But after the capture of Aligarh in 1803 its area was still further increased by the annexation of the parganas of Kanka, Atrauli, Dibai, Chharra, Bhamauri, Pindrawal, Khair, Noh, Chandaus, Barauli, Murthal and Pitampur. The district had now attained its widest development and was administered by the Governor General's Agent at Fatehgarh. But the new arrangement was far too cumbrous and unwieldy for convenient administration, and in the following year the 12 parganas just mentioned were detached to form the district of Aligarh, and this was the first of a long series of transfers which greatly reduced the size of Farrukhabad. In 1809 it lost parganas Karaoli, Sauj and Marehra, in 1837 parganas Sonhar and Bewar. In 1843 parganas Sahawar, Karsana, Sirhpura and Nidhpur-Aulai were contributed towards the formation of the Patiali subdivision, now the Etah district; and in 1845 parganas Azamnagar, Barna and Patiali followed to the same destination. But meanwhile the district had been receiving additional parganas from its southern neighbours. Talgram and Saurikh were annexed from Etawah in 1817; and Amritpur, Khakatmau, Paramnagar and Bangaon from Shahjahanpur in 1829. The last-named pargana was, however, restored to Shahjahanpur in 1843. In 1837 Thatia and Kanauj were received from Cawnpore, and Tirwa, Sakrawa and Sakatpur from Etawah. The result of all these alterations was to change the district from a long tract lying nearly east and west, with headquarters at the extreme eastern limit, to a more compact area lying north-west and south-east along the Ganges, with headquarters in a fairly central position. The only other alterations which need be mentioned are those which have taken place within the limits of

the present district, by division or combination of old parganas. Shamsabad has been divided into parganas Shamsabad East, Shamsabad West and Muhammadabad. *Tappa* Pahara of Bhojpur, which Nawab Muhammad Khan set aside as dower-land for the expenses of his wives, has been promoted to the rank of a separate pargana. Pipargaon, which the same prince bestowed on his favourite consort, was an independent pargana until reabsorbed at the last settlement into Muhammadabad. Tirwa and Thatia, which were severed at the cession, have since been reunited; and pargana Kaimganj, formed at the cession from Kampil and Shamsabad, was at the last settlement returned wholly to Kampil. Chhibramau and Sikandarpur have been combined into one pargana, bearing the name of Chhibramau.

The fiscal history of the district begins with its cession to the East India Company on the 24th June 1802. Fatehgarh then became the headquarters of the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces, a body established on the cession of Rohilkhand in the preceding year, and presided over by the Hon. Henry Wellesley, afterwards known as Lord Cowley, a brother of the Governor-General Marquis Wellesley and of the future Duke of Wellington. At this time he was called indifferently Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Provinces or President of the Board of Commissioners. The management of the district, under the orders of the Board, was entrusted to the Governor-General's Agent at Fatehgarh.

The first Agent, Mr. Graham Morcor, was appointed in the month of cession and to his supervision the first land-assessment is probably due. This assessment came into force in the autumn of 1802-03, and lasted for three years. Its amount, for the parganas which now constitute the district, was Rs. 10,83,836. Presumably it resembled in principle, as it certainly did in term, the first settlement of Rohilkhand, the right to collect rent and pay revenue being put up to auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. The minimum or upset figure below which no offers were accepted seems to have been the average revenue of the four years preceding cession.* This system is likely to have injured vested interests less than might at first be supposed.

However anxious to purchase, new men would have thought twice before undertaking the risk of supplanting a powerful village community. In March 1803, by Regulation II of that year, the judicial and executive charge of the district was entrusted to a Judge-Magistrate. The administrative functions seem, however, to have remained in the hands of the Governor-General's Agent. Here as in other districts the famine of 1803-04 did its best to cause the collapse of the settlement. In December 1803 the tahsildar who had contracted for the revenue of pargana Khakatman complained that he could not realize the revenue without military aid. The Agent, who was on tour, seems to have been of the same opinion, and hurried back to Farrukhabad; but appears from later correspondence to have adopted "a conciliatory tone." Another letter of the same month mentions that the estates of Bar Singh and Sital Singh, zamindars of Sirhi Chakarpur in the same pargana, were under attachment for arrears of revenue.† About 11 months later the invasion of Holkar and the general disorder which it excited made matters worse. Early in November 1804 Nahir Ali and Dundi Khan, rebellious zamindars, who had already given trouble in neighbouring districts, entered Farrukhabad. "In consequence a general spirit of turbulence and commotion has manifested itself among the people in general, precluding the practicability of a speedy realisation of the heavy balances due in the month of Kuar (September-October), or of anticipating the ready payment of those for Kartik (October-November)." The Agent requested the judge-magistrate to take "immediate measures for the purpose of giving support to the native collectors in the execution of their duty."‡ But the rapid advance of Holkar probably prevented any measures from being taken. "During the general confusion and rebellion of the zamindars and ryots" which followed, all the tahsildars except that of Chhibraman fled from their posts and took refuge in the city of Farrukhabad. The Agent complains,

* Letter of the Acting Governor-General's Agent (Mr. Claud Russell) to the Secretary of the Board, 13th December 1803, and 20th February 1805. Tahsildars then received no salary but a percentage on their collections.

† Agent to Board, 15th December.

‡ *Ibid.*, 5th November 1804.

moreover, that all his office staff, save a *jamadar* of *harkaras*, left Fatchgarh for the same asylum.*

But on the 17th November the victory of Lord Lake drove Holkar defeated from the district; and the Agent found himself in a position to investigate the losses which the country had suffered. "The injury done by the enemy and the large body of cavalry under His Excellency Lord Lake, as well as by the infantry under Colonel Don, was principally confined to the *bagra* and *jwar*, the produce of the *kharif*, which at that period were nearly fit to be collected. It does not, however, appear that any claim is made on account of the *rabi* crops, which were then scarcely above the ground..... In the month of February last, when the greatest confusion existed in this and the neighbouring districts, the tahsildars reported that the zamindars and farmers of such parganas as had been visited by the enemy's predatory horse declined payment of the *kiste* (instalments) demandable on account of the *rabi* without a previous adjustment of the deductions they claimed for damages done to the *kharif* crops." Other causes, the depredations of Nahir Ali Khan and hailstorms, had contributed to reduce the spring harvest. Under these circumstances the Agent proposed considerable remissions of revenue, amounting, in the case of villages whose autumn crop had suffered, to one half of the total demand.* The tax-eluding landlords of Khakatmau were not likely to let slip the opportunity of avoiding payment of their revenue afforded by these troublous times. During the whole of 1804 only Rs. 5,845 were realized from this rich alluvial pargana. They had it "in their power to defeat the vigilance of the public officers by withdrawing to the neighbouring mud forts in the Vizier's country (Oudh)." Early in 1805 the Agent himself visited Khakatmau, "with a view to the realisation of the multiplied arrears." He succeeded in collecting and reasoning with all the proprietors save one, Durga Singh, whose hand seems to have been against every man, and who is mentioned as having slain several of his neighbours. "Durga Singh, by possessing some influence, particularly in money, has been enabled to collect a rabble of needy *barkundaz*. With these, and the security of a mud fort, he

* Acting Agent (Mr C Lloyd to Board, 23rd May 1806.

occasionally makes encroachments on his neighbours, and injures their crops and cultivation. With these means he was also enabled to defer an accommodation till more convenient opportunity." The Board suggested that the Judge-Magistrate should be requested to lend his aid in bringing this contumacious defaulter to reason.*

Despite these drawbacks, the local administrators were quite sufficiently satisfied with the working of the first settlement to raise the demand at the second. During the second assessment, which lasted from 1805-06 to 1807-08 inclusive, the revenue was fixed at Rs. 11,05,463 yearly. With the beginning of 1806 a collector was appointed to the district and the functions of the Agent became more purely political. But the bulk of the power remained as before in the hands of the Judge-Magistrate. It was perhaps due to the appointment of a new official, charged almost solely with the collection of the revenue, that the course of this settlement is marked by so few complaints of uncollected arrears. Not that the landlords of Khakatman were compliant. They refused to accept terms and the whole pargana was farmed to a Hindu of the Bishengarh family. But farms of the revenue were sometimes granted with less reason. We learn that *taluga* Kaimganj was let to a Musalman contractor "contrary to the wishes of the zamindars, who had all agreed to engage for their estates."

The success of the second settlement here and elsewhere encouraged the Board to exact, for a longer term, a larger demand. The third settlement was for four years, from 1808-09 to 1811-12 inclusive; and its demand was fixed at Rs. 11,64,124 yearly. But though greater on the whole, the revenue of both this and the preceding assessment fell in several parganas below that exacted at the cession. A letter from the collector who framed the settlement tells us something of the plan on which he worked. After obtaining from the native officials estimates (*daul*) of outturn, he "allowed 10 per cent. on the gross produce as the income in proprietary right of the landholder, and some more to cover the expenses of cultivation." The Board were, however, hardly satisfied as to the manner in which his estimates of out-

* Agent to Board, 20th February 1806 and Board's order thereon 5th March.

turn had been obtained, and informed him that "an average of three common years will be constituted the ground for adjusting the assessment." They warn him against frivolous reductions and especially against "the mere omission of the single rupee, which the superstitious ideas of the natives lead most of them to introduce into all their dealings to make the sum uneven." The Khakatman proprietors continued recusant, and the first year of settlement had barely elapsed before armed force was required to assist the pargana farmer in his collections. In October 1809 the collector (Mr Donnithorne) crossed the Ganges with a company of native infantry specially procured from Etawah. Encamping near Salempur village, which since the cession had paid no revenue, he found that its landholders, Tirmohan Singh and Rai Singh, had built a mud castle of considerable strength, which was, however, vacated on the approach of the detachment. With some indecision the collector requested the Board's leave to blow it up. "The measure would prove some means of bringing this notorious pargana into some state of subjection. The police officer waited on me and stated his inability to oppose the refractory body at all times ready to assemble for the purpose of resisting all processes" *

At the expiry of the third settlement the same course was adopted as at the expiry of the second. A new assessment was imposed for a larger amount, and for a term longer by a year than that of its predecessor. The fourth settlement was quinquennial, and its demand, Rs. 13,32,677, was larger than any ever exacted from the district either before or since. Its original term, from 1812-13 to 1816-17 inclusive, was however prolonged by quinquennial extensions to 1836-37. Landholders were allowed in theory to retain 10 per cent. of the assets as before; but the great and sudden increase of the demand must have pressed very heavily on the district. At the very outset there arose in Ohhibramau difficulties which show that Khakatman was not the only pargana which refused obedience to the new governors of the country.

* Major-General St. Leger to Board, 30th September 1809; Board to Collector, 1st October. Collector to Board, 12th October

Raja Jaswant Singh of Tirwa refused to accept the terms offered to him at settlement. In November 1813, therefore, Mr. Donnithorne proceeded to parganas Chhibramau and Bewar,* where the Raja's estates lay, to report for the information of the Board. "On arriving at Chhibramau", he writes, "my first endeavour was to cause the attendance of the patwaris, when I found that the persons who had long been employed in that capacity had been discharged by the Raja, and a person named Bhawani Singh entertained to superintend the five estates in the pargana. This person absconded on the evening before my arrival with every document relative to the estates. From there he proceeded to Paraunkha, in pargana Bewar*, and, having plundered the ryots of Rs. 600, again avoided me the day before my arrival, having previously threatened the Banias with severe punishment provided they furnished the collector with any supplies whatsoever". Mr. Donnithorne, however, made a survey of the villages, recording what portion of each was fit for cultivation, actually cultivated, or occupied by buildings, groves or tanks. For the estates in this district he proposed a demand of Rs. 3,892, against one of Rs. 3,537 realized during the preceding settlement. That the increase was justifiable was shown by the fact that in almost every case other persons offered to engage for these estates at even greater amounts than those proposed. The Board passed orders that the lands should be farmed to such persons.† Pargana Khakatmau had already been farmed to the same Brahman contractor as at the two preceding settlements. But he often found himself unable, even with the collector's assistance, to collect the revenue, and in 1819 the Board sent their own secretary across from Fatehgarh to coax or coerce the payment of the Government dues.

Long as was the currency of this settlement and its extensions but little important mention of its working will be found in the said volumes of the Board's records. It appears, however, that the various collectors had more than one opportunity of assessing portions of the district under the famous Regulation VII of 1822. By the death of Munshi Dalpat Rai in that year,

* Now in Mainpuri.

† Collector to Board, 20th November 1813 Board to Collector 25th November

a considerable *g g r* or untaxed *ficf* fell open to taxation. The estates, which lay on the *kutri* land- beside the Ganges, in parganas Shamsabad West and Pahara, seem to have been under the collector's management since 1815; and their settlement or resettlement took place in 1826. The operation extended not only to lands free of revenue, but also to others on which the Munshi paid tax. It, however, excluded the *julez mohal*, or estate of melon-beds on the summer-dried sands of the Ganges. The result, so far as regarded land formerly revenue-free, was an assessment of Rs. 2,593.* In the same year (1826) Mr. Newnham, the collector, settled an estate or two in Bhojpur. Four years later the commissioner reported that the settlement was based on confessedly erroneous data. In the course of revision facts came to light which show how precarious were in those days the rights of the tenantry. Mr. Newnham had apparently granted hereditary tenants leases (*raiyaṭi patta*) of their holdings for the term of settlement. "The *raiyaṭi patta* is", he wrote, "proved in this instance to be a safeguard. The ryots complain that they have been suspended by the ams from trees and beaten until they agreed to pay in excess; others have been forcibly dispossessed. The body still made good their station. That they were not more successful is ascribed to three men petitioning the collector for protection and justice, and that no notice was taken of their application for a long period"†

Considerable difficulties attended the carrying out of the fifth settlement under Regulation IX of 1833. The district had just been prostrated by the great famine of 1837-38, which had thrown much land out of cultivation. How long the land would take to recover, and what revenue it might be expected to pay when it had recovered, were matters of mere speculation. Mr. Robinson, the principal settlement officer, reduced the former demand by about 3 per cent., to Rs. 12,92,717; but even this reduction proved insufficient. In 1843 a plague of locusts delayed the recovery of the district, and in 1845 it was found necessary to depute Mr. Wynyard to revise the assessment. He

* Collector (Mr. H. Swetenham) to Board, 4th November 1822; Acting Collector Mr. H. Newnham) to Board, 29th October 1827, Vice-President in Council, Board, 24th October 1827.† Commissioner to Board, 15th April 1831 with enclosure

reduced it to Rs 11,56,612 and no further revisions were required until the expiry of the settlement. The confiscation, however, after the Mutiny of certain revenue-free estates and their assessment, brought the figure up to Rs. 11,63,481. The assessment, under Regulation IX marks the change from the summary to the scientific method. The settlement was preceded by a regular survey, effected in part by Lieutenant Henry Lawrence, the future hero of Lucknow, and with it were introduced the novelties of a precise record of the various rights existing in the soil and a regular determination of standard rent and revenue rates for different circles or tracts. The rental was reckoned by circles (*chaks*) and soils, the latter being in most cases divided according to the artificial distinctions caused by irrigation, as irrigated (*abi*), partially irrigated (*nimabi*), or dry (*khaki*). But in the trans-Gangetic parganas Mr. Robinson classed them in two divisions, the first containing clay (*matiyar*) and loam (*dumat*), the second sandy (*blur*) and other inferior soils. When the rental of the cultivated part in each circle had been ascertained, two-thirds or more of that rental was exacted as revenue. In Chhibramau the proportion demanded rose to 70 per cent. Pargana Sakrawa was revenue-free, and escaped assessment until 1848. The original term of the fifth settlement was extended by Act VIII of 1846, and the end of June 1865 fixed as the date of its expiry throughout the district. But the tardy introduction of the succeeding assessment postponed that expiry until dates varying in different parganas from 1869-70 to 1872-73. As revised by Mr. Wynyard this settlement worked well. In some of the southern parganas, which at assessment formed part of Cawnpore or Etawah, the demand was severe; but on the whole the revenue was collected without any serious difficulty. Throughout the currency of the settlement the condition of the district steadily improved, and there was a great increase in cultivation, tenant right and the value of land.

Operations for the sixth settlement began in 1863, two years before the fifth had expired. Both cultivation and prices had increased largely in the interval, and the population, though not excessive, had probably reached a limit which ensured more or less competition and tended to raise the rate of rent. With the

rise in the rent rate the revenue had fallen from its old two-thirds standard to but 51 per cent. of the assets, and the value of land had consequently greatly increased. The new survey which preceded this settlement was a field-to-field measurement by plane table carried out by the patwaris under the supervision of the settlement officer, Mr. Herbert Wilson. On his death in 1866 he was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Elliott, who had completed the assessment of the whole district except the Tirwa tahsil when, in 1870, he was appointed Secretary to Government. The remainder of the work was finished by Messrs. Buck and Evans, the latter writing the report. In the assumption of rent-rates for the purpose of assessment Mr. Elliott introduced some new methods which have since been generally adopted in settlements in these provinces. As at the previous settlement, average rent-rates were framed for classes of land of similar quality and advantages; but while Mr. Robinson's criterion had been irrigation, that of Mr. Elliott was manure. Each village in the upland was divided into three portions: an inner highly manured zone, called the *ganhan*; a middle zone, slightly manured, called the *manjha*; and an outer zone, practically unmanured, called the *barhet*. Each zone was further subdivided according as it was irrigated or not, and, in the case of the *ganhan*, according to the nature of the crops habitually grown on it, particularly valuable crops, like potatoes and tobacco, calling for a special rate. Only in the *barhet* were the natural distinctions of soil recognized. The different classes of soil being thus laid down, the settlement officer proceeded personally to inspect every village and mark off on the map the areas of each class of soil which it contained, at the same time making notes of the recorded rent-rates and the rates named by the villagers. He was thus able to check the recorded rates both by information gathered on the spot and by his own observation, and to determine both the fair average rent-rates and the areas to which they applied. In the lowlands a different classification was employed. Here the soil had been subjected to little artificial improvement. Owing to its general moisture, irrigation was of small importance; and the division into zones, manured in different degrees, was unknown. A *ganhan*, or inner belt round the homestead, did

indeed exist; but the term was purely geographical, connoting no difference in the artificial advantages of the soil. These lowland parganas were therefore divided into *chaks* or large circles, and the subordinate divisions within each circle were chiefly the natural distinctions of soil—loamy, sandy, or flooded. As in the uplands, however, the villages were marked off into *hars*, which were afterwards included in one or other of the subordinate divisions just named. The method of enquiring into and deciding rent-rates was similar to that employed in the uplands and involved the same laborious classification. The application of the assumed rates to the assessable area gave the district a gross rental of Rs. 25,58,793. At 50 per cent. the revenue would have been Rs. 12,79,396. But the proportion of the rental taken varied in different parganas, and for the whole district amounted to about 51 per cent. The result was an assessment of Rs. 12,85,083, or an increase on the former demand of 10·4 per cent. In this sum were included Rs. 38,613 payable to grantees out of the revenues of parganas Chhibramau, Bhojpur, Muhammadabad, Pahara, Shamsabad East, Shamsabad West, Kampil and Sakrawa.

Over the greater part of the district this settlement worked admirably. But the more precarious tracts were at the time of assessment in a highly prosperous condition, and no allowance was made for their liability to sudden and severe depreciation. The years immediately following the settlement were unfavourable and as early as 1876 it was found necessary to revise the assessments of a few villages on the Kali Nadi which suffered severely from floods in 1873-74. In 1877-78 the settlement of 22 other villages in which *kans* had become strongly established was revised by Mr. Batt, and permanent reductions amounting to Rs. 3,075 made in their revenue. The series of wet seasons culminating in the floods of 1888 caused so much damage that in 1890 Mr. Trethewy was deputed to make a further revision of the settlement in the depreciated tracts. The result of his enquiries was a reduction of Rs. 61,858 in the revenue. Altogether the summary reductions of revenue made at different times during the currency of the last settlement have amounted to Rs. 68,177.

The seventh or current settlement was carried out by Mr. H. J. Hoare as Settlement Officer, aided in tabails Tirwa and

Kananj by Maulvi Muhammad Fasih-ud-din as Assistant Settlement Officer. The preliminary survey and preparation of statistics were effected by a survey party under Mr. P. C. H. Smart of the Survey department, who began work in 1898 and finished in 1901. The settlement officer commenced his inspection of the district in December 1899 and completed it in March 1902, his assessments being finished and sanctioned in the same year. The system of soil classification employed followed in the lines of that originated by Sir Charles Elliott at the previous settlement, and the rent-paying capacity of the land was determined by its natural fertility and the facilities enjoyed for manure and irrigation. The division into *guzhan*, *manjha* and *barhet* was maintained, each being distinguished as wet or dry, according as they were or were not irrigated in an ordinary year, and the *manjha*, both wet and dry, was further subdivided into two grades. In the *barhet* the natural soil classes consists of *dumat*, and *bhur*. The *dumat* and *bhur* of the *barhet* were similarly subdivided, but only one grade of *matiar* was recognized except in the Tirwa and Aligarh tahsils where the area of dry *matyar* was so large that the same procedure had to be followed. In highly cultivated villages several classes of *guzhan* were found necessary. In the *tara* the same classification was used as in the *banga*, but the distinctions due to irrigation disappeared, all *tara* land being as a rule irrigable if necessary. This classification was made for each village as a separate unit without reference to other villages. Similar villages were then grouped into circles topographically adjacent, but to give elasticity to this arrangement the villages of each circle were divided into two classes, superior and inferior according to the rent-paying capacity of their soils. Circle rates were then calculated for each class of each circle, being modified within sanctioned limits to fit the particular character of each village and thereafter known as village rates. The next step was the ascertainment of the assets in a village, and to this end the recorded rental was examined and checked by a comparison with the village rates and accepted, abated, enhanced, or rejected. The recorded rental was nearly always found to be correct and in only 229 mahals was it rejected in 177 cases on account of

inadequacy, in 48 on account of rack-renting, and in 4 on the ground of fraud. The assumption area was valued at village rates, a reduction of 25 per cent. being allowed in the case of the proprietors' self-cultivated *sir*. *Sayar* income was added, an allowance on account of improvements deducted, and the resultant taken as representing the assets. The Government demand was as a rule calculated at 50 per cent. of these assets, but worked out over the whole district at 49·01 per cent.

The result of the settlement was a redistribution rather than a serious enhancement of the old demand, the increase of revenue derived from tracts that had developed since the prior settlement being largely used up in reductions granted to more precarious tracts, which were treated with a light hand. Excluding 68 mahals in Khakatmau and Paramnagar which were left to be assessed by the district officers as they had not yet fallen due, the new revenue for the district amounted to Rs. 12,19,696 on revenue-paying mahals, and Rs. 93,212 nominal on revenue free mahals. This is nearly Rs. 5,000 less than the demand originally fixed at the previous settlement, and only 6·36 per cent. in excess of the expiring demand plus owners' rate. In other words, it amounted practically to a recomposition of the amount summarily deducted in 1892. But it is by an analysis of the figures by circles that the degree to which the burden has been shifted can best be appreciated. While the revenue has been enhanced by 32 per cent. in the suburban circles and by 68·2 per cent. in the first class *bangar* circles, it has been decreased by as much as 14·85 per cent. in the mixed Kali Nadi and Isan circles, and 26·80 per cent. in the alluvial or flooded circles. At the 1870 settlement the incidence of the revenue on the cultivated area was Re. 1·99 per acre in the non-alluvial tract, and Re. 1·61 in the alluvial tract. At the 1902 settlement the corresponding figures were Rs. 2·20 and Re. 1·28. That is to say that while in the stable portion of the district there has been a rise in the incidence of 10·55 per cent., in the precarious area there has been a decrease of 20·50 per cent.

Though the greater part of the district is settled for a term of thirty years, there are a large number of villages in the lowlands which are annually liable to alluvion and diluvion owing

to the action of the Ganges and Ramganga. In most of these alluvial villages the Government demand is revised every five years by the collector. As has already been mentioned, in 68 mahals of parganas Khakhatmau and Paramnagar this quinquennial revision did not fall due till 1903, and was therefore not carried out by the settlement officer, though village rates were fixed by him. At the last revision in 1903 the revenue demand assessed on these mahals was Rs. 11,591, and this amount is therefore to be added to the settlement officer's assessment for the whole district. The alluvial mahals in pargana Amritpur, to the number of 147, were last settled in 1907, as were 39 of the 49 situated in pargana Kanauj. Of the remaining 10 in that pargana two were settled in 1906 and two in 1908, while in six no revision has taken place since 1902. In parganas Kampil and Shamsabad West there are 109 mahals classified as alluvial and in these the last revision occurred in 1906. Sixteen mahals in Bhojpur and twenty-two in Pahara are classified as alluvial, but in only one of these is there a quinquennial revision; this was last made in 1908.

For the purpose of police administration the district is divided up into 15 circles with an average area of 113 square miles, and the police force is distributed among the headquarters stations of these circles and two outposts. The present allocation of circles is a new one, the result of changes made in accordance with the recommendations of the Police Commission, and was only carried into effect on the 1st December 1903. In the Aligarh tahsil there is now only one station at Aligarh, those at Allahganj and Paramnagar having been abolished under the new scheme, and portions of the tahsil are included in the Fatehgarh, Muhammadabad and Kamalganj circles. There are four stations in the Kaimganj tahsil, at Kaimganj, Kampil, Shamsabad and Nawabganj, the circle of the last-named overlapping into the Farrukhabad tahsil. The latter tahsil is divided up among the circles of Farrukhabad, Fatehgarh, and Kamalganj. The old station at Colonelganj has been reduced to an outpost attached to the Fatehgarh station, though the former staff is maintained for watch and ward duties. In tahsil Chhibramau there are stations at Chhibramau and Gursahaganj the latter

covering a portion of the Kanauj tahsil, the remainder of which belongs to the Sarai Miran circle with an outpost at Kanauj. In the Tirwa tahsil the reallocation is not yet complete. There are at present stations at Tirwa, Thatia and Saurikh, but as soon as a new station is built at Indargarh, the latter will become the headquarters of the Tirwa circle and the existing boundaries of the three circles will be altered by interchange of territory. The existing Tirwa circle has been diminished by the transfer of 19 villages to Sarai Miran and 7 to Gunshaiganj and is to surrender another 33 villages, with an area of 69 square miles, to Thatia, receiving in lieu thereof 18 villages, with an area of 34 square miles, from Saurikh. When these changes have been made the Indargarh circle will comprise an area of 118 square miles; Thatia, which is at present only 67 square miles, will be extended to 136, while Saurikh will be diminished from 161 to 127 square miles. Under the new arrangement the largest circle will be that of Gunshaiganj, with an area of 153 square miles and a population of 77,901, and the smallest Fatehgarh, with 36,167 inhabitants and a jurisdiction extending over 17½ square miles. The amount of crime, however, in the latter circle makes the work fully as heavy as that in those of larger area.

The police force is under the charge of the superintendent of police, who is assisted by an assistant or deputy superintendent, a reserve inspector, and three circle inspectors. The civil police force includes 33 sub-inspectors, 41 head constables and 397 constables, and is, with the exception of a small reserve maintained at head quarters, divided among the various thanas. The armed police force consists of one sub-inspector, 22 head constables and 134 constables, and has its head quarters at Fatehgarh. The rural police, or *chaukidars*, who keep watch and ward in the villages, number 1,963, and the road police, who are engaged in patrolling various roads, amount to 106. In addition to these, each of the Act XX towns maintains a small police force of its own, comprising 41 all told, and there are 44 provincial *chaukidars* employed in the notified areas of Kaimganj and Kanauj.

As has been shown elsewhere, the Farrukhabad district, and more especially the trans-Gangetic parganas had in the early days of British rule a not undeserved reputation for turbulence,

and though any disorders on a large scale have been unknown for many years past, there is always a good deal of violent crime. In the opening years of the century a considerable amount of trouble was caused by organized bands of armed dacoits. At their head was the notorious Darab Shah whose fame attracted several other ruffians hardly less bold and dangerous than himself to join his gangs, and for some time the police were quite unable to cope with the outbreak of crime. In 1903, however, systematic measures were taken for its suppression. The local police were reinforced by bodies of armed and mounted men and a regular campaign was instituted against the dacoits. The capture of Darab Shah by Mr. W. B. Cotton, C. S., was followed by the dispersal and arrest of a number of his men, and after the removal of the leader the police had comparatively little difficulty in breaking up the gangs. The district has no forms of professional crime peculiar to itself, but cases of counterfeit coining and organized cattle stealing now and again come to notice, while the number of false criminal charges brought in the courts is a remarkable feature. Female infanticide no longer exists. In 1904 only seven villages in the Chhibramau tahsil were still left on the registers, and enquiries made in the following year showed that these might safely be removed. The most important of the gipsy tribes who frequent the district are the Banjaras, Kanjars, Berias, and Nats. They are all more or less criminals by profession, though they differ in the degree of their tendency to crime. By far the worst are the Berias, who make no pretence at a lawful occupation, maintaining themselves chiefly by theft and the prostitution of their women. The fact that these are often kept as mistresses by Thakur landholders secures for the other members of the tribe a degree of immunity which they would not otherwise enjoy. The local Banjaras are both Hindu and Muhammadan. They deal largely in cattle, and are sometimes suspected of supplementing their lawful business by receiving and disposing of stolen animals. The Kanjars, too are under the suspicion of receiving stolen goods, while their wandering habits greatly assist the more active criminals among them in escaping detection. The Nats, most of whom belong to the section of the caste known as the

Kalabaz or acrobats, are a comparatively harmless race, indulging in little beyond petty theft. They are the only gipsy tribe in the district which lives entirely in tents

Farrukhabad contains both a Central and a District Jail, which are in the charge of a superintendent, who is ordinarily a member of the Indian Medical Service. The Central Jail, which was built in 1867, is situated two and a half miles to the west of Fatehgarh at the point where the road from Mainpuri intersects that from Farrukhabad to Yakutganj. The staff of the Central Jail consists, in addition to the superintendent, of three Europeans, eight office hands, 25 intra-mural warders and 27 extra-mural warders, the last-named forming the reserve warden guard. There are also two hospital assistants and a European matron in charge of the female prison, assisted by a native female warden. The jail has accommodation for 2,218 prisoners, and during the past decade the average population has been 1,921, the daily average during 1908 being 1,752, of whom 45 were women. The chief industries are cloth-weaving and tent-making, but iron cups and plates are also largely manufactured for the use of prisoners. During 1908 tents to the value of Rs. 21,572 were manufactured and supplied to various Government departments, the total cash profit earned by the jail factories during the year being Rs. 7,943 as compared with Rs. 16,688 during 1907. The malaria epidemic of 1908 brought up the annual death rate to 30.8, a higher figure than that recorded at any other central jail, though one that compares very favourably with the district mortality of 71.45 per mille. The District Jail lies a mile and a half to the south of Fatehgarh on the circular road and has accommodation for 516 prisoners. During 1908 the daily average of the prison population was 350. The ordinary industries are carried on by the convicts, the usual articles produced being durries, matting and coarse cloth. The amount earned in this way during 1908 was Rs. 2,712.

The distillery system is in force in the district. The Farrukhabad distillery contains fourteen stills, turning out over twenty-two thousand gallons a year. A considerable proportion of this is exported to the neighbouring districts of Mainpuri, Etawah, Etah and Agra. The material used in distilling is *shru* which

has to be imported from the Shahjahanpur district, the price of liquor is in consequence comparatively high, and a certain amount of the manufactured spirit is imported from Shahjahanpur and sold at a profit. There are at present 105 shops licensed for the sale of country liquor, which is universally consumed by the labouring classes. Under-proof liquor is sold retail at 9 or 10 annas the bottle, of which there are nominally six to the gallon. But the dealer's bottle is a varying quantity, and his "quarter measure," which he sells at two and a half annas, is seldom more than the fifth of a bottle. Both the consumption of country spirit and the income from this source have increased of late years. During the closing decade of the last century the average annual consumption was 24,394 gallons, and the annual receipts were Rs. 71,106. For the first eight years of this century the averages have been 28,297 gallons and Rs. 1,01,303. A good deal of the increased consumption is to be accounted for by the prevailing belief that alcohol acts as a prophylactic against plague.

Of late years English liquor has made great progress in popularity among the drinking classes in the larger towns, and there are now 11 shops licensed for its sale. During the ten years ending in 1900-01 the average annual receipts on account of foreign liquors were only Rs. 523, while during the next eight years the average has been Rs. 1,506. Rosa rum is practically the only English liquor sold. Its combined sweetness and strength appear to commend it to the consumers, with whom other European spirits seem to find little favour.

The *tari* palm is common in the district, and *tari*, which sells retail at half an anna the seer, is the most popular hot weather drink among the labouring classes, 244 shops being licensed for its sale. Until recently the right of vend was sold shop by shop, and a tax of Re. 1 was levied per tree tapped. This system involved an elaborate registration of trees and the maintenance of a special establishment, with certain difficulties of administration in detail, and has now been replaced by the old method of farming the right of vend by parganas. The change of system has been followed by an immense increase in the receipts from this source, the average income for the last eight years being

Rs. 22,496 as against an annual average of Rs. 9,103 for the preceding decade.

Opium is sold both at the tahsils and at 13 licensed shops. The poppy is largely grown in the district, and of late years as much as twelve and a half lakhs of rupees has been paid to cultivators for their year's produce. In 1908 the outturn of opium was 3,600 maunds. With so large a production there is inevitably some embezzlement by the cultivators, and a certain amount of illicit traffic in raw opium. As Government pays to the cultivator only Rs. 6 per seer of standard consistency, while the rate at which the drug is sold wholesale is Rs. 17, the inducement to smuggling is great. At the same time the danger of detection is comparatively small, and, as might be expected, in tahsils like Chhibramau where poppy is grown everywhere the consumption of Government opium is hardly more than nominal. There has however been some improvement in the sales of the licit drug of recent years, the average annual consumption having increased from 15 maunds 8 seers during 1891—1900 to 22 maunds 9 seers during the next eight years, while the average annual receipts for the corresponding periods have been Rs. 6,235 and Rs. 9,300.

The only hemp drugs now sold in the district are *bhang* and *charas*. There are 84 shops licensed for their sale and the right of vend is farmed out for triennial periods. A comparison of the receipts and consumption in respect of hemp drugs during the first eight years of the present century and the closing decade of the last shows that while the receipts have more than trebled the consumption has fallen off by more than two-thirds. Between 1891 and 1900 the average annual consumption was 113 maunds 11 seers and the receipts averaged Rs. 13,729. The corresponding figures for the period between 1901 and 1908 were 76 maunds 36 seers and Rs. 50,871. *Bhang* is grown in the south of the district where it is indigenous. Its cultivation is confined to a dozen villages in the Chhibramau and Kanauj tahsils and covers, in round figures, 300 acres. The seed is sown on land that has borne *kharif* crops without much preparation and usually in combination with wheat or barley the latter being cut green for fodder. The *bhang* yields

three gatherings of which the earliest, or *Baisakhya* crop, is of superior quality. The yield per acre varies between three and five maunds according to the soil and method of cultivation. Fairukhabad *dhung* is largely exported to native states, where it is highly esteemed and fetches a high price. The district contractor prefers the cheaper product of Pilibhit.

Offences against the excise laws are seldom of an important character. *Chandu* shops are occasionally discovered, and illicit dealings with crude opium give rise to frequent prosecutions. Apart from these most of the offences detected are of an almost purely technical nature.

A table given in the appendix shows the receipts and charges on account of stamps for each year since 1891, with details for judicial and other stamps. For the first ten years from 1891—1900 the average receipts were Rs. 1,63,019, while for the next eight years the average has been Rs. 2,07,156. The greater part of this increase is due to the extended sales of judicial stamps, and the most remarkable rise took place between 1900 and 1901, when the Rent Act of 1901 was the cause of a considerable increase in litigation. The proportion of the total receipts contributed by court-fee and copy stamps has risen from 76·1 per cent. in the first period to 79·7 in the second.

Other tables given in the appendix show the annual receipts from income-tax for the whole district since 1890-91 and for each tahsil since 1897-98. When income-tax was first levied in the district under the Act of 1870, it was assessed upon all profits exceeding Rs. 500, at the rate of 6 pias in the rupee, and the actual assessment for the whole district amounted to Rs. 1,19,999. In 1872 this tax was abolished and a license-tax substituted for it by Act VIII of 1877, which yielded in 1878-79 a return of Rs. 48,681. Act VIII of 1886 again imposed a regular income-tax, and it is under this Act that the collections are still made. The receipts show a considerable fall in the year 1903-04, the result of the rule introduced in that year exempting incomes under Rs. 1,000 a year from taxation. For the preceding ten years the average receipts were Rs. 44,396, while for the following five years they were only Rs. 32,707. The city of Fairukhabad-cum-Fatehgarh contributes nearly 40 per cent. of the total for 1907-08.

the Kanauj tahsil coming next with over 14 per cent. The Aligarh tahsil, devoid alike of large towns and manufactures, contains only one capitalist whose income exceeds Rs. 2,000, and in 1907-08 its total assessment was Rs. 436.

The District Judge is also the District Registrar, and in addition to his office at head quarters there are six subordinate offices, at Farrukhabad, Kanauj, Tiwa, Chhibramau, Kaimganj and Aligarh. Formerly registration was performed by a member of the tahsil staff, but the work is now entrusted to a separate department. Of the six sub-registrars' offices that at Farrukhabad has, as might be expected, the heaviest work, while that at Aligarh has but little to do. During the five years ending in 1908 the average receipts for the whole district were Rs. 10,168 and the average annual charges Rs. 5,487. The Farrukhabad sub-registrar's office accounted for over 36 per cent. of these receipts, and the Aligarh office for only 4 per cent. During these five years the average number of documents presented annually for registration was 4,825, those for which action was optional amounting to 861, and the gross aggregate value of the property involved was Rs. 19,45,071 annually.

Since the abolition of the district *dak* in 1903 all the postal arrangements of the district have been under imperial management. The local control is in the hands of the Superintendent of Post-Offices, Fatehgarh division, whose head quarters are at Fatehgarh. Besides the head office at Fatehgarh there are 15 sub-offices and 39 branch-offices scattered over the district. A complete list will be found in the appendix. The work of the post-office increases every year. The number of letters received in the district in 1908-09 was 1,736,021, or five times as many as thirty years ago, while the parcels had multiplied tenfold and amounted to 21,736. An enormous business is now done in money-orders, over 17 lakhs of rupees having been remitted to the district by this means during the last year, while more than 10 lakhs were despatched from the various district post-offices. The special land revenue money-order is rapidly increasing in popularity, and in 1908-09 nearly one-sixth of the revenue demand was paid through the post-office, which issued these orders to the value of Rs. 2,08,571.

Thirty years ago there was only one telegraph office in the district, at Fatehgarh. There are now combined post and telegraph offices at the Fatehgarh head office and at the sub-offices of Farrukhabad city, Chhibramau, Kaimganj, Kanauj and Sarai Miran. In addition to these every railway station is provided with a telegraph office.

The only municipality in the district is that of Fatehgarh-cum-Farrukhabad. In 1860 the two towns were formed into a "union" with Amethi, Yakutganj, and Graniganj, under the provisions of Act XX of 1856, and it was not till many years had passed that they were raised to the status of a joint municipality. Its affairs are managed by a board of 16 members, of whom 12 are elected and the remainder nominated by Government. The District Magistrate is usually elected Chairman, and the Joint Magistrate and Civil Surgeon sit *ex-officio*. The details of receipts and expenditure for each year since 1891 will be found in the appendix. Octroi is the main source of income. In the original notification of 19th July 1860, the provisions of Act XX of 1856 were applied to no less than 28 towns and villages in this district. Many of these were quite unfitted for administration under the Act, and the number was gradually reduced until there now remain only the five towns of Chhibramau, Shamsabad, Talgram, Thatia and Tirwa. Details of the receipts and disbursements in each case will be given in the articles on the several places. The income of these towns is derived from a house-tax assessed by a committee of five local gentlemen and the chief heads of expenditure are conservancy, the upkeep of the local police force, and local public works. Kanauj, Kaimganj, are now notified areas and an account of each will be found in the directory.

In 1883 the old district committee was superseded by the district board, on which were conferred wide powers for the administration of local affairs. The members were elected from the local boards, who in turn were chosen by a picked electorate in each tahsil. In 1906 the new District Boards Act (III of 1906) abolished the local boards and provided for the direct election of a fixed number of representatives from each tahsil by a nominated electorate at the same time giving the boards

wider financial powers. The board now consists of 21 members, of whom 15 are elected, while six, including the District Magistrate and Subdivisional officers, hold their seats by virtue of their office. The work of the board covers a wide field, embracing the construction, repair and maintenance of roads and various public buildings, such as dispensaries, schools, staging bungalows and inspection houses; the establishment and management of pounds, ferries and encamping-grounds; and the general control and supervision of public vaccination, village sanitation, and education. Most of the more important branches of its various duties are dealt with by committees, which are entrusted with the details of the administration. The income and expenditure of the board under the chief heads for each year since 1891 will be found in the appendix.

With the exception of English Schools the general control of education throughout the district is in the hands of the district board, though the actual supervision is given over to officers of the Education department. The advance which has been made in this direction can best be gauged by a comparison with some of the statistics of past years. In 1847 Farrukhabad contained 335 schools, fostered only indirectly by Government. Of these 193, educating 1,211 scholars, were Arabic and Persian; while the remainder, with 1,543 pupils, were Sanskrit and Hindi. Three of these schools owed their existence to the American Mission, and nine more to the exertions of Deputy Collector Kali Rai, author of the *Fatehgar-hnama*. English was taught only in the Mission High School, which had taken for this purpose the place of a similar school formerly established by Government. In 1878 the number of pupils had risen from 2,754 to 8,043, the average daily attendance being 6,980, and though the schools had decreased in number to 314, nearly half of these were Government institutions, incomparably more efficient than the old indigenous schools with their slack discipline and almost purely theological curriculum. There are now 228 schools directly or indirectly under the control of the district board with 9867 pupils and an average daily attendance of 7,367, excluding the English Schools with 1 084 pupils with which the district board has now

no longer any concern. English education is provided in the District School and Mission School at Farrukhabad, in the Anglo-Vernacular High School at Fatehgarh, and in the Jubilee High School at Kanauj, all these schools preparing pupils for the matriculation examination of the Allahabad University. There are eleven middle vernacular schools at Kanauj, Shamsabad, Amritpur, Farrukhabad, Chhlibraiman, Tulgram, Jalalabad Tirwa, Kaimganj, Thatia and Rajlawai. All the rest are primary schools, 133 of which are under the direct management of the district board, while 64 receive grants-in-aid. These latter are of the ordinary type, the Board's grant being supplemented by a contribution on the part of the zamindars. These schools do useful work while they last, but are apt to be short-lived, depending as they do on the energy and good-will of particular individuals. There are a number of similar schools, at present unaided but established for the most part in the hope of attracting to themselves a Government grant. Independent of grants, however, are the Sanskrit schools, of which there are a few at Farrukhabad maintained by wealthy Hindus. The chief of these is Lachmi Narain's with some fifty pupils. The expense of their support as well as of their education is borne by the founder, and in addition he maintains a few of the more promising pupils while they continue their studies at Benares. There are now no Persian or Arabic schools of any importance. Here and there a Maulvi has a few pupils, but there is no serious study of either tongue. Of female education there is little to be said. The Mission Girls' School at Rakha does good work, and there is a Model Girls' School at Fatehgarh. Another is maintained by the municipality at Farrukhabad and a few have been established here and there in the district with grants from the board. But it is seldom that any but the youngest girls can be got to attend, and even when the parents are really willing to educate their daughters, it is with the greatest difficulty that competent female teachers can be found. The percentage of female scholars to the female population of school-going age is only 2.11 as against 14.38 in the case of males. During the year 1907-08 the expenditure on the schools under public management in the district was Rs. 23 424 while Rs 7 336 were

given in grants-in-aid. A list of the schools in the district together with the average attendance at each for 1907-08 is given in the appendix.

The statistics relating to literacy collected at each of the last three censuses afford another useful test of the progress made in education of recent years. In 1881 the percentage of literate males to the total male population was 4.1; in 1891 it was 5.4, a figure at which it remained at the last census. Though during the last decade the proportion of literates remained unchanged there had been a substantial increase in their numbers, from 25,248 to 26,911. Among the female population the increase has been much more marked, rising from .1 per cent. in 1881 to .23 per cent. in 1891 and .31 per cent. at the recent enumeration. The total number is, however, still very small, amounting to only 1,305 persons in all. The provincial average is 5.8 per cent. for males and .24 per cent. for females, so that Farrukhabad though slightly behindhand in respect of the one sex, is in advance of the majority of districts in regard to the other, only nine districts returning a larger proportion of literate females. In Farrukhabad city the general level of education is much higher than in the district as a whole, 21.63 per cent. of the males and 1.49 per cent. of the females being able to read and write. Education is more common among the Hindus than the Musalmans in this district, the respective figures being 2.94 and 2.43 per cent. for the district as a whole, while in the city the disproportion is still greater, the percentage of literate men being nearly 3 times higher among Hindus than among Musalmans. English education has made some progress among males, .41 per cent. now possessing some tincture of it as compared with .15 per cent. ten years before, but among females it has stagnated utterly, no increase being shown on the minute percentage of .03 returned in 1891.

In 1865 there were four dispensaries in the district, at Farrukhabad, Fatehgarh, Kaimganj, and Tirwa. The last named was destroyed in 1865, and it was then decided to rebuild it at Sarai Miran where it would be available for the large town of Kanauj two miles away as well as for Tirwa. In 1893 its name was changed and it was called the Kanauj dispensary.

Two other more dispensaries were opened at Chhibraman in 1888 and at Tirwa in 1902, the Raja of Tirwa contributing Rs. 2,000 towards the latter institution. These new dispensaries are housed in substantial and suitable brick buildings, but in the older ones the accommodation leaves a good deal to be desired. That at Fatehgarh is known as Panni Lal's dispensary from the name of the gentleman who in 1872 presented the funds for the existing building. It is the central dispensary of the district, and increased accommodation, together with a new modern aseptic operating theatre, was added to it in 1904. The Dufferin Hospital was erected from local subscriptions and opened in 1895. It is well housed in a fine building alongside the Farrukhabad dispensary and is managed by a female hospital assistant. The heaviest work is done at the Fatehgarh dispensary which has the largest number of indoor patients, but in outdoor relief it is nearly approached by those at Farrukhabad and Kaimganj. The dispensaries are all under the care of the Civil Surgeon who is in medical charge of the whole district. Under him there is an assistant surgeon in charge of the Farrukhabad dispensary and a hospital assistant to each of the other five district board dispensaries.

The *nazul* properties in this district are not, for the most part, very valuable or extensive. The total annual income from this source for the whole district is Rs. 2,543, most of which is produced from the letting of small plots, the only one of any individual importance being that of Chauk Lindsayganj in Kaimganj, the rental of which is Rs. 1,275. The management of the municipal *nazul* plots, amounting in value to Rs. 369 a year, has been made over to the municipality, which collects the proceeds. The sarais at Muhammadabad, Khudaganj, Kaimganj, Talgram and Chhibraman are leased to Bhatiaras at a total annual rent of Rs. 336, and small sums are made by auctioning the straw and manure left on the various encamping-grounds.

There were in 1908 thirty-five cattle-pounds in the district, established at the various police stations and a number of the larger villages. With the exception of those at Fatehgarh and Farrukhabad, which are managed by the municipality, that at Colonelganj by the Cantonment authorities and of those at Kaimganj

and Kanai by the notified areas committees they are under the control of the district board and the receipts from them form no unimportant item in the board's income. During the last nine years the average annual takings have been Rs. 14,025 while the average cost of maintenance, including the pound-keepers' salaries, was only Rs. 4,451. For 1908, the amount realized was as much as Rs. 17,020, and for the same year the municipal pounds brought in Rs. 1,095. The staff of each pound is a writer on Rs. 8 and a herdsman on Rs. 4, except in the Act XX towns, where the tax superintendent gets an allowance as pound clerk, and at the tahsil head quarters at Sarai Miran where the naib nazir does the work for a consideration.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY.

The materials for a history of Farrukhabad are unusually abundant in the early period owing to its connection with Kanauj. When or by whom that city was founded is not known, but the fact that it is mentioned in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata of Patanjali under its Sanskrit name of Kanyakubja justifies the assumption that it was in existence at the beginning of the second century B. C. In the Mahabharata, however, its name is not found, and in that epic Kampil is the most important city of Panchala. It is at Kampil that the scene of the dramatic Swayanvara, or Choosing of the Suitors, is laid when Arjan the Pandava, alone of the assembled princes, succeeds in bending the bow of Drupada, and so winning the hand of his daughter; † and when after the long war between Drona, the preceptor of the Pandavas, and Drupada, the latter is given the southern half of the kingdom, it is Kampil which becomes his capital. But when we pass out of the period of legend into that of history, Kampil dwindles into insignificance, and Kanauj gradually takes its place as the chief city of Panchala. For some time, however, Sankisa, on the western border of the district, seems to have at least rivalled Kanauj in importance. Coins of the rajahs and satraps of Muttra (circa 200—100 B.C.) are found fairly commonly at Sankisa, and the north-western part of the district was perhaps included within their dominions, but practically nothing is known about them except their names. It is probable that Virasena,

* This sketch of the early history of the district up to the last Musalman invasion is in the main derived from articles by Mr. V. A. Smith in the J. R. A. S. for 1905 and 1907, where full references to the authorities relied on will be found. Much assistance has also been received from a note kindly supplied by Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S.

† Local tradition still points to a spot a few miles west of Kampil as the scene of this contest.

who was placed by Cunningham in the same series,* held more of this district, as his coins are much more frequently obtained, particularly at Kanauj, where the coins of the satraps occur but rarely. Virasena's coins have been found as far east as Tajman in the Cawnpore district. An inscription bearing his name and dated in the year 13 or 118 was found in 1896 at Jankhat, nine miles south-east of Tirwa, but has not been properly examined.†

Kanauj probably came, with the rest of the district, into the Gupta empire in the time of Samudra Gupta, circa 326—336, but was certainly not the capital of that empire, as was formerly asserted. When Fa-Hian, the Chinese pilgrim, visited it between 399 and 414 A.D., during the reign of Chandragupta II, it was evidently of small size and importance, containing only two Buddhist monasteries and no buildings deserving mention. To Sankisa, on the other hand, many pages of description are devoted, and of its neighbourhood Fa-Hian remarks "the country is very productive, the people are very prosperous, and exceedingly rich beyond comparison"‡ The comparative rarity of the Gupta gold coins at Kanauj also goes to show that no mint was established there.

On the break-up of the Gupta empire a number of smaller principalities came into being. One of these was ruled by a dynasty called the Maukharis, but of the earlier sovereigns of this line little is known beyond the names and the fact that Kanauj appears to have been their capital. About the beginning of the seventh century, the Maukhari chief Grahavarman joined Prabhakara of Thanesar, who was his connection by marriage, in a war against Siladitya of Malwa, but, after a temporary success, was defeated and killed. Leaving Kanauj in the charge of Sasanka, king of Gaura, Siladitya then marched on Thanesar, but in the summer of 606 was routed by Prabhakara's son Rajya. The latter was soon afterwards treacherously murdered by Sasanka, and was succeeded by his younger brother Harsha.

The new king was a man of extraordinary ability and energy. Within six years, during which "the elephants were not unharnessed nor the soldiers unbelted,"§ he not only crushed his father's enemies, but brought under his sway the whole of Upper

* E. J. Rapson *J. R. A. S.* 1900 p. 115. † R. Burn. *ibid.* p. 552.

‡ Beal, *Buddhist Records* I p. XLII. § *Ibid.* p. 206.

India between the Sutlej, the Narmada and Eastern Bengal. Kanauj became his capital and was, for the next forty years, beyond comparison the greatest and most important city in Northern India. Hieuen Tsang's description of his visit there in 648 is in remarkable contrast to that of his fellow countryman two and a half centuries earlier. The town itself was now over three miles in length and nearly a mile broad, surrounded by a moat and fortified with strong and lofty towers. Within it were about one hundred monasteries occupied by more than ten thousand priests, and the temples of the gods were two hundred in number. Valuable merchandise was collected there in great quantities, the people were prosperous, and the houses rich and well-found. The king was a most pious Buddhist, who "practised to the utmost the rules of temperance, and sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep or eat." But the favour shown to Buddhists provoked the resentment of the Brahmans, and Hieuen Tsang describes two unsuccessful attempts made by them on the monarch's life in the course of a gorgeous religious ceremony held at Kanauj. Harsha's energy was indefatigable. For thirty years he continued to attempt new conquests, and in times of peace he was for ever making progresses throughout his dominions, personally inspecting their condition and dealing out rewards and punishments. His administration earned the unstinted eulogy of his Chinese visitor.

Harsha Vardhana died in 648, and the throne was then seized by his minister. But the usurper's tenure of power was brief. He had the temerity to attack the Chinese envoy, who was then visiting Kanauj on a friendly mission, and was soon after crushed by the combined forces of Tibet and Nepal and carried away captive to China. The next king of whom there is any record is Yasovarman, who sent an embassy to China in 781, and during the next ten years succeeded in reconquering practically the whole of Harsha's empire. These conquests, however, brought him into conflict with Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir, and in the war which ensued Kanauj was captured and Yasovarman lost his life. He was a patron of literature, and befriended the poets Bhavabhuti and Vakpatiraja

Yasovarman was succeeded by Vajrayudha, whose successor Indrayudha was dethroned, about 800 A.D., by Dharmapala of Bengal in favour of Chakrayudha. But the new king did not long enjoy his good fortune, for within ten years his kingdom was invaded by a horde of Gurjaras from Rajputana led by their king Nagabhata II. Though Dharmapala had hitherto been the most powerful sovereign in India, he was unable to protect his nominee, and Nagabhata added Panchala to his dominions, making Kanauj his capital. From him were descended the Parihar kings of Kanauj, whose Gurjara origin has now been proved beyond the possibility of doubt. Under Nagabhata's grandson Mihira, or Bhoja I, Kanauj once more became the centre of a great empire. He reigned for about half a century (840—890 circa) and the evidence of inscriptions proves that his dominions included Saurashtra (the modern Kathiawar), Oudh, Gwalior and the Karnal district of the Panjab. Bhoja's son Mahendrapala and his grandson Bhoja II seem to have maintained their empire undiminished, but Mahipala, who came to the throne about 910, was less fortunate. Early in his reign Kanauj was taken by Indra III, the Rashtrakuta king of the Deccan, and this disaster was followed by the loss of the outlying provinces. The occupation of Kanauj was, however, only temporary, and more than a century was to elapse before the Gurjara dynasty came to an end. But its predominance was now lost, and the last kings of the house were compelled to bow before the rising power of the Chandel chiefs of Kalanjar. Devapala of Kanauj surrendered in 954 to the Chandel king a treasured image of Vishnu, and his brother Vijayapala (955—90 circa) lost Gwalior to a Kachchwaha chief who acknowledged the suzerainty of Kalanjar. During the reign of king Dhanga of Kalanjar (950—1000 circa) the Jamna seems to have formed the boundary between the two kingdoms.

The close of the tenth century was marked by the first Muhammadan invasions of India. In 991 Jaipal, the Hindu raja of the Panjab, who had already twice encountered with disastrous results the power of Sultan Sabuktigin of Ghazni, summoned to his aid a great confederacy of the Hindu princes of the north. Among those who answered his call was Rajyapala of Kanauj. But the vast army of the allies was defeated in the Kurram

valley and the Muslims established themselves at Peshawar. In 990 Sahuktigin was succeeded by his more famous son Mahmud who lost no time in carrying on the war against the idolator. Jaipal, after another defeat in 1001 committed suicide, leaving the throne to his son Anandapala. Against him Mahmud marched in the autumn of 1003. Once more the Hindu princes of Northern India united to oppose the invader, and an immense army was assembled on the plain beside Peshawar. But the Indian allies were once more defeated, and in 1009 Mahmud returned with much booty to Ghazni. It was not till 1018 that he attacked Kanauj. In the autumn of that year he left Ghazni, early in December Muttra was sacked and burnt, and at the end of the month his army appeared before Kanauj. Scarcely any resistance was made by Rajyapala, and Mahmud captured the city and its seven forts in a single day. The troops were permitted to plunder and to take as many captives as they desired, the rest of the inhabitants being put to the sword. The ten thousand temples of the gods were destroyed, but the other buildings of the city were left intact. When Mahmud returned with his plunder to Ghazni, in the spring, the other Rajput princes, infuriated by the tame submission of Rajyapala, formed a coalition headed by Ganda, the chief of Kalanjar, and marched upon Kanauj. Rajyapala was killed and his son Trilochanapala placed on the throne.

Of the later Parihar rajas not even the names are known, but their dynasty seems to have continued till 1090, when Kanauj was taken by Chandradeva the Gaharwar. His grandson Govindachandra enjoyed a reign which is proved by epigraphic evidence to have included the years 1114 and 1154, while the wide distribution of his coins and of inscriptions recording grants of land made by him proves that in his days Kanauj once more recovered a large measure of its old importance. Govindachandra's grandson was the famous Jayachandra, or Raja Jaichand, who in 1193 was defeated and slain by Shahab-ud-din Ghori.

Though there is epigraphic evidence to show that for some years after this Hindu rajas of Kanauj still continued to confer grants of land and to exercise a titular sovereignty over a considerable tract of country, they must have acted only as vassals of

the Musalman conqueror. For though Shahab-ud-din returned, like his predecessors, after his successful foray, unlike them he left a viceroy at Delhi to complete the subjugation of Hindustan. This viceroy was Qutb-ud-din, who in 1206 became Emperor of Delhi. The punishment they had received from Shahab-ud-din seems to have taken the heart out of the Rajputs, for it is not till the reign of Shams-ud-din (1211—36) that we hear of their venturing on a rising in this district. According to a "somewhat apocryphal biography" of a Musalman saint named Shah Aziz-ud-din,* the Rathor founders of Khor quarrelled with that worthy, but were at once crushed by the Sultan, who came down the Ganges in ships to attack them. From the ruins of Khor was built the town of Shamsabad. The story is corroborated by local tradition, and may be referred to by Hasan Nizami when he credits Shams-ud-din with "the conquest of Kanauj and subjection of powerful Rajs,"† though the little apprehension felt by that monarch about the security of Kanauj is shown by his ordering its garrison in 1234 to join other forces in expeditions against Kalanjar and Jammu.‡

But after half a century of quiescence the Rajput clans of the district began to give incessant trouble to their new rulers. In 1244, the "district of Kanauj" was conferred by the dissolute Ala-ud-din Masaud on his uncle Jalal-ud-din for his maintenance.§ Three years later, Ala-ud-din's successor Nasir-ud-din had to send an army to reduce the Hindus to submission. The rebels shut themselves up in Mandana or Talanda, a village in the neighbourhood of Kanauj. Their fortress was "very strong, vying with the wall of Alexander"; and they themselves were "resolved to fight to the last extremity". But after a murderous conflict of two days "the rebels were sent to hell and the place was subdued".||

Twenty years later the condition of the district was so disorderly that the local officials were quite unable to cope with it, and the Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban had to intervene in person. The roads were infested with highway robbers, whose chief strongholds were at Kampil and Bhojpur. At each of these places the Sultan erected a fort, which he garrisoned with

* E. H. I., II., p. 121. † *Ibid.*, p. 366. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 344. § *Ibid.*, p. 357.

||*Ibid.*, 247.

Afghans and for the maintenance of these garrisons he set apart cultivated lands.* So successful were these measures that Zia-ud-din Barni writes: "Sixty years have passed since these events, but the roads have ever since been free from robbers".† Towards the close of the century the fort at Bhojpur was visited by the Sultan Jalal-ud-din, who is said to have at that point built across the Ganges a bridge, presumably of boats.‡

In 1340 the mad emperor Muhammad Tughlak "led forth his army to ravage Hindustan. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dahanu,§ and every person who fell into his hands he slew." Many of the inhabitants fled for refuge to the forests which then thickly studded the country; but Muhammad surrounded these hiding places, and, gradually closing in towards their centres, slaughtered every one he caught therein.|| From these pastimes he was recalled to quell a revolt in another part of India. But in 1345 the desolation which he had wrought round Delhi drove him to return to this part of the country. Passing Kampil and Khor, he seems to have retraced his steps to the Etah district, where he encamped in thatched huts at Sargdwari. Three revolts had arisen and been crushed in different parts of India when in the next year one broke out in the royal camp itself. Am-ul-mulk, one of the principal courtiers, who had been governor of Oudh, received orders transferring him to the Deccan. Suspecting his master's object, he absconded by night into this district in company with his brothers. The fugitives took with them all the baggage animals from the royal camp, and until he had collected fresh transport and been reinforced, the Sultan was unable to follow. He then marched to Kanauj, and encamped in its suburbs; but by this time the rebels seem to have crossed the Ganges. Encouraged by a mistaken hope that many of the Sultan's army would desert to them, they recrossed the river below Bangarmau in Unao and offered battle. Whether the conflict took place in this district or the neighbouring part of Cawnpore is uncertain; but the rebels

* Such garrison lands were known as *barohi*, a title which lingers in the names of many places to the present day.

† E. H. I. III, p. 106. | ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 538. | § On the Ganges in the Rae Bareilly district. | || E. H. I., III, p. 245

were routed and Ain-ul-mulk taken prisoner, while his two brothers were slain. Strangely enough, the tyrant who had driven and slaughtered inoffensive peasants like deer, forgave this notable rebel.

The Duab Rajputs seem always to have been on the verge of revolt, and in 1392 a formidable insurrection broke out among the Rathors of this district and the Chauhans and Solankhis of the neighbouring tracts. The Sultan Nasir-ud-din Tughlak marched in person to suppress it. After driving the rebels out of Etawah he "punished the infidels of Kanauj and Dalamau," and then, proceeding to Jalesar in the Etah district, built there a fort which he called Muhammadabad after the name he had borne before his accession. So unsettled was the state of the country that the Sultan found it expedient to remain for some time at Jalesar, and when in 1393 he was called away to Delhi he left his general Mukarrab-ul-mulk with a large army to keep order. He had hardly gone when, in 1393, another rising occurred, headed by the Rathor chief, Rai Sarvadhanan.* It was, however, quickly suppressed. By lavish promises and engagements Mukarrab-ul-mulk induced the rebel chiefs to submit, and then treacherously arrested them and carried them off to Kanauj, where they were all put to death, except Rai Sarvadhanan, who escaped. Returning to Jalesar to inspect his new buildings, Nasir-ud-din fell ill and died there early in 1394 †

He was succeeded by a minor, whose minister at once became all-powerful. To his former title of Khwaja-i-jahan, or Lord of the World, the wazir quickly added that of Malik-ush-sharq, or King of the East. The latter denomination was purely honorary, and common enough among the courtiers of the day;‡ but

* The Sarvadhanan and Rai Sar of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*; Sarvadhan Rathor of Farishta; Rai Sarwar of Elphinstone, and Rai Sir of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. In E.H.I. the name is split into two; "Sabir the accursed and Adharan." † E.H.I., IV., p. 26.

‡ Thus Firoz Tughlak (1351—88) confers the title on one Mardan Daulat and Mardan's son, Shams-ud-din Sulaman, both holding it at the same time. It was held later by Sayid Khizr Khan, the son of Shams-ud-din, afterwards (1414—21) Sultan Mahmud Tughlak conferred it not only on this Khwaja-i-Jahan, but on one Malik Tuhfa. Khizr Khan, when he came to the throne, bestowed the title on his general Taj-ul-mulk, and his own son Mubarak. The latter on his accession gave it to Sarwar ul mulk. Hasan and Sultan Shah who all three held it at the same time. Other might be quoted.

Khwaja-i-jahan determined to make it a reality. His original government was Jaunpur, and on his way there in 1394 he had to make a campaign against the rebels of Etawah and Kanauj. But to the government of Jaunpur he gradually added those of Oudh, Bihar and Kanauj itself, thereby laying the foundations of a kingdom. The independence of the new realm became an accomplished fact some five years later, when the invasion of Timur left the Delhi empire prostrate. On Timur's departure from India the southern half of this district had come into the power of Khwaja-i-jahan's heir Mubarak (1399), and in the rest of the empire there was civil war between the nominal emperor Nasir-ud-din Mahmud and a rival Nusrat Shah. By 1400 the real power was all in the hands of Mahmud's general Iqbal Khan, and it was not long before he came to blows with Jaunpur. Marching down country in the last month of 1400, he traversed Etah and at Patiali defeated the irrepressible Sarvadhara pursuing him to the confines of Etawah. Marching on to Kanauj he was opposed by Mubarak. "The river Ganges flowed between the two armies, and neither was able to cross. This state of affairs continued for two months, when each party retired to his own home."* Insignificant as this affair seems it was the prelude to constant struggles between Delhi and Jaunpur, in the course of which the Jaunpur kings usually found in Kanauj a convenient base of operations. The district became a debateable land between the two rivals, and until the final triumph of Delhi, nearly eighty years later, was seldom left in peace.

In 1401 Iqbal Khan again marched towards Kanauj, bringing with him the titular emperor Mahmud, and was opposed by Mubarak's brother and successor Ibrahim. Once more the armies of Delhi and Jaunpur faced one another and once more they parted without bloodshed. While a battle still appeared imminent, Mahmud, on pretence of hunting, left the army of Iqbal Khan and went over to that of Ibrahim. But receiving there a cold welcome, he retired to Kanauj, where he established himself after expelling Ibrahim's governor, Malikzada Haibui. At Kanauj all ranks rallied round him, and he was left unmolested by both Iqbal Khan and Ibrahim. Three years later

another rising headed by Saivadharaṇ compelled Iqbal Khan to march into the Duab. The rebels threw themselves into Etawah but capitulated after a four months' siege, and Iqbal Khan again advanced against Kanauj. But "the place was strong and he could not take it, so he returned to Delhi disappointed." In 1405 Iqbal Khan was killed in the Panjab, and Mahmud left Kanauj for Delhi. In the following year he returned with an army and found the city threatened by Ibrahim, whose troops soon afterwards crossed the Ganges. But for the third time the two armies, after confronting one another for some time, separated without fighting and marched off to their homes. When, however, Mahmud was well on his way to Dehli, Ibrahim led back his forces and invested Kanauj. After a siege of four months, during which no help came from Delhi, the governor, Mahmud Tarmati, was forced to surrender, and Kanauj was bestowed on Ikhtiyar Khan, grandson of an officer who had in some way been connected with Kampil*. From Kanauj Ibrahim made next year an unsuccessful expedition against Delhi.

Though Jaunpur held the south of the district, Dehli for some time continued to assert its authority over the north. In 1414, the year in which Khizr Khan the Saiyid came to the throne, his general Taj-ul-mulk was sent into the district to "chastise the infidels"—this time Rathors of Khor and Kampil. He then left for Gwalior and other places, returning to Delhi by way of Etawah, and once more "chastising the infidels", probably Chauhans. Two years later, he was again sent to Gwalior, and on his return once more proceeded towards Kampil. But the Rajputs seem to have been cowed by his advance, and he went back again to Delhi†. In 1423 the next emperor, Saiyid Mubarak, crossed over from Rohilkhand in person. He "attacked the country of the Rathors, putting many of the infidels to the sword;" and after encamping for some days on the banks of the Ganges left a detachment in the fort of Kampil. The son of Saivadharaṇ, who had submitted and followed the royal retinue, professed alarm at the presence of this detachment, and fled to Etawah. He was pursued and besieged by Khair-ud-

* E. H. I., pp. 33--47. This officer's name was Yar Khan-i-Kampila

† *Ibid* p. 48

din Khan who forced him to yield and pay arrears of tribute. In 1424 the emperor again crossed from Rohilkhand, intending to harry Kanauj. But "there was a terrible famine in the empire of Hindustan, and so the army advanced no further."* A few years later, while Mubarak was still on the throne of Delhi Ibrahim marched up the Kali Nadi to oppose him. When met by the emperor, however, the Jaunpur force declined battle, and was defeated elsewhere †

For over a quarter of a century there was peace between Delhi and Jaunpur, but in 1452, when Bahlol the Lodi had gained the throne of Delhi, and Ibrahim had been succeeded by his son Mahmud, the struggle broke out afresh. Mahmud had married a daughter of the deposed emperor Ala-ud-din and at her instigation he declared war on Bahlol and advanced into Etawah.‡ After an indecisive action a peace was made, one of the terms of which was that Shamsabad should be surrendered to Delhi. This condition however was not observed, and Bahlol proceeded to eject the Jaunpur governor by force of arms, replacing him by his own nominee, Rai Karan, the Rathor raja of Khor. Mahmud at once marched on Shamsabad and a battle followed in which Bahlol's cousin Qutb Khan was taken prisoner. Bahlol now took the field in person, but at this juncture Mahmud died and another peace was patched up on the basis of the *status quo ante*. There seems, however, to have been no restoration of prisoners, for while Bahlol was still on his way back to Delhi he received a letter from Shams Khatur, the chief lady of his harem, who was Qutb Khan's sister, bitterly reproaching him with his supineness in letting her brother remain a captive and threatening suicide unless he were immediately released. Stung by her reproaches, Bahlol at once turned back. Muhammad, the new king of Jaunpur, advanced to meet him and reaching Shamsabad first recaptured the town. This initial success won over to his side a number of the wavering chiefs of the neighbourhood and among them the influential Rai Pratap, the Chauhan chief of Bhongaon, Patiali and Kampil. Several days of desultory fighting ensued in the Mainpuri district, ending with a battle at Rapri in which Muhammad was defeated. He retired to Kanauj, hotly pursued by the

* E. H. I., pp. 53-54. † *Ibid* p 64 ‡ *Ibid* V., 80

enemy, and was soon after murdered by the troops of his brother Husain, who succeeded to the throne. The new king was in no position to resume hostilities and at once made peace. Qutb Khan was exchanged for a brother of Husain who had been taken prisoner at Rapri, and Bahlol left the district. But he returned before long and took Shamsabad, reinstating Rai Karian as governor. The war of course broke out afresh, and Rai Pratap having again declared for Jaunpur, Bahlol retired to Delhi pursued by Husain. After a week's fighting outside the walls of the capital another truce was arranged, binding both monarchs to remain within their own territory for a period of three years.*

Such an attempt to fix a term was of course ineffectual; and before the three years were up Husain seems to have broken the truce as many times. But in 1478 the tide turned decisively against him. On the death of his father-in-law Ala-ud-din, he had seized the retired emperor's government of Budaun. This brought Bahlol down in haste from Sirhind, and, after some skirmishing round Delhi, Husain made yet another truce and marched off towards Jaunpur. Breaking the truce, Bahlol fell upon his retreating enemy and defeated him with severe loss, following up his victory by the annexation of a number of the Jaunpur parganas in the Duab, among which were Kampil and Shamsabad. But Husain stood at bay in Mainpuri, and peace was once more declared only to be broken in the next year by Husain. The result was a series of defeats in the Duab, Bundelkhand, Oudh and Jaunpur itself. Husain at last fled to Bihar, and in 1479 Bahlol enthroned his own son Barbak at Jaunpur.

In 1488 Bahlol was succeeded by Sikandar Lodi at Delhi, and Barbak at once advanced against the capital. Sending an envoy to meet Barbak with pacific overtures, Sikandar hastened towards Kampil. The Jaunpur governor of that place, Isa Khan, was mortally wounded in the attempt to oppose him, and Sikandar continued his march down the district, meeting Barbak near Kanaug. The battle which ensued resulted in the complete defeat of Barbak, who retreated to Budaun, where he capitulated.† Sikandar forgivingly reinstated him on the throne

* E. H. I. V pp 80 85

† E. H. I. IV p 455

f Jaunpur but took the precaution of leaving his own nominees in all the governments of the kingdom. Barhak was, however, unable to maintain himself against his rebellious subjects, and after quelling on his behalf one serious Hindu rebellion Sikandar gave up the attempt to support him as useless. Barhak was removed in chains to Delhi in 1494, and Sikandar proceeded down country to suppress some adherents of the ex-king Husain who were giving trouble in Mirzapur. Returning to this district, he lingered six months at Shamsabad, and in the same place, after a visit to Rohilkhand, he spent the rains of 1495.* In 1500 he bestowed Shamsabad on the brothers Imad and Sulaiman Farmuli.

In 1518 Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, whose reign was brief and troubled. The Afghan nobles were all aspiring to local independence, and Ibrahim's own brother Jalal Khan proclaimed himself king of Jaunpur, and, establishing a footing in Oudh, nearly succeeded in restoring an Eastern dynasty. Ibrahim marched into this district to oppose him, and on approaching Kananj was joined by a large body of deserters from his brother's camp at Kalpi. Jalal Khan was now forced to abandon his pretensions, and was not long afterwards privately executed. But the suppression of this rebellion encouraged Ibrahim into a domineering policy which created bitter discontent. Babar's invasions of the Panjab facilitated fresh revolts, and when in 1526 he made his fifth and final expedition into India, defeating Ibrahim at Panipat, there was no longer an empire, but a host of petty governments. Shamsabad must still have been held by the Farmulis, for he tells us that these and other Afghans were in possession of Kananj and its neighbourhood.† A leading Pathan chieftain named Bihar Khan had assumed the kingly title of Sultan Muhammad. But when the conqueror took possession of Agra and announced his intention of remaining in India several of the Afghan faction submitted, while a detachment under Babar's son Humayan, marching into the neighbouring district of Cawnpore, scattered the forces of the recalcitrants. But when in the following year Babar was threatened by the formidable Rajput confederacy in the

* E. H. I., V., p. 64. † E. H. I., IV, p. 208; Estime p. 840

west, his troops and his governor, Muhammad Duldai, were obliged to abandon Kanauj.* The very day after crushing that confederacy at Sikri he despatched a force against the Duab insurgents. The governments of Oudh and Kanauj were bestowed on Sultan Mirza, who had little difficulty in restoring the imperial authority. In the following year (1528), when Babar marched against the rebel fortress of Chandori in Bundelkhand, he despatched Muhammad Ali Jangjang to Kanauj with orders to summon Sultan Mirza, then at Lucknow, to his assistance. But the mission met with little success. The forces of the two generals were attacked in Oudh, and compelled to fall back on Kanauj. Discouraged by this reverse and the stubborn resistance of Chandori, Babar offered the besieged Raja Shamsabad for his capitulation.† Chandori was not an ancestral possession of Raja Medini Rao; but he refused to exchange it, and it was soon afterwards taken by the besiegers. It had no sooner fallen than Babar marched into the Duab. He found this district in complete rebellion. His forces had evacuated Kanauj, and the Pathans had wrested Shamsabad from his governor, Abul Muhammad Nizabaz. He advanced straight on Kanauj, the rebels flying before him; and, encamping at that city, began to throw a bridge across the Ganges. The fact that Jalal-ud-din Khilji had accomplished the same exploit two and a half centuries earlier was forgotten, and the Afghans on the Oudh bank laughed at the attempt. But protected by a breastwork and a gun the bridge was completed within a fortnight. Babar's army crossed the Ganges, and the rebels were routed. Shamsabad must have been retaken, for about six months later Babar offered it to Bikramajit Sisodia in exchange for Rantambhor. Bikramajit, who was a son of the Rana of Mewar, chief of Babar's Rajput opponents, accepted the offer, thereby escaping the fate of his father and Medini Rao.‡

Babar died in 1530, leaving his son Humayun to fight out the struggle with the Afghans. The first rebels who disturbed the peace of the district were not, however, Afghans, but distant kinsmen of Humayun. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, late

* Erskine, p. 371. | † E. H. I. IV, pp. 275-76, Erskine, pp. 375-76.

‡ E. H. I. IV, pp. 279-281.

governor of Kanauj and Oudh, conspired with his son Ulugh and his cousin Muhammad Zaman to raise a rebellion on the Oudh side of the Ganges. To suppress this revolt Humayun in 1533-34 marched to Bhojpur, where he encamped, sending his relation Yadgar Nasir across the river into Paramnagar. The rebels were defeated and it was ordered that Sultan Mirza and Muhammad Zaman should be blinded. But the officer entrusted with the order failed to execute it, and the two princes soon afterwards escaped. Their first act was to attack Bilgram, in the Oudh pargana adjoining Kanauj, their next, to cross the Ganges and attack Kanauj itself. The city was held for the emperor by the sons of his foster-brother Khusrū Kokaltash. but these officers surrendered and Sultan Mirza soon found himself at the head of six thousand men, Musalmans and Rajputs. The emperor's brother Hindal was sent from Agra to suppress this rising, and the insurgents were driven across the Ganges into Bilgram, where they were again defeated.*

Meanwhile the Afghans had found in Sher Khan Sur a formidable leader. A desire to check that chief's alarming progress led Humayun south in 1537; and before starting he entrusted the Kanauj government to his brother-in-law Nur-ud-din Muhammad. In the following year his brother Hindal revolted at Agra, and was almost immediately joined by the new governor of Kanauj. The rising was, however, nipped in the bud by the timely arrival of Humayun's other brother Kamran from the Panjab in 1539. The absence from Kanauj of its governor and garrison probably facilitated its annexation by Sher Khan, or Sher Shah, as he now styled himself, for it is recorded that "all the district as far as Kanauj and Sambhal fell into the possession of the Afghans. The officers of Sher Shah collected the revenue for both the autumn and spring harvests of these parts."† After the disastrous surprise and defeat of Humayun at Channsa, Sher Shah's forces pursued the emperor up country, and again overran those provinces as far as Kalpi and Kanauj‡. But in 1540 Humayun, who had rallied his scattered adherents at Agra, determined to strike a last blow for his crown. And when Sher Shah's son Qutb Khan marched across the Duab to

* E. H. I., VI, pp 8-14

† *Ibid* IV., p 338

‡ *Ibid* 378.

attack Kalpi and Etawah, the emperor sent a detachment which defeated and killed the invader. Having thus cleared the Duab, Humayun marched into this district with a huge army of about a hundred thousand men, and encamped on the bank of the Ganges at Bhojpur, intending to attack Sher Shah, who was advancing up the opposite bank. After an ineffectual attempt to build a bridge across the river, he marched down stream, and at Kanauj effected a crossing. But during the next month he made no move, and his army was so weakened by desertions that Sher Shah, making the attack at his convenience, won a complete victory. Humayun fled across the river on an elephant, narrowly escaping drowning, and at Bhongaon in the Mainpuri district his small escort was attacked by the villagers "who were in the habit of plundering a defeated army." Sher Shah now established himself as emperor. He was a strong and able ruler, and in his time the disorder and brigandage which had for centuries flourished unchecked in this district, as in the rest of the Duab, were ruthlessly put down. His governor Bairak Niazi "so established authority over the people of Kanauj, that no man kept in his house a bow, an arrow, a sword, or a gun, nay, any iron article whatever, except the implements of husbandry and cooking utensils. The fear of him was so thoroughly instilled into the turbulent people of these parts that according to the measurement they paid their revenue to the treasurer"*

With an Afghan dynasty on the throne the Farmulis once more obtained a footing in the district, and in 1553, not long after the accession of Sher Shah's grandson Muhammad Shah Sur, the fief of Kanauj was held by Shah Muhammad Farmuli. From him it was taken by the new emperor and conferred on a favourite named Saimast, described by a contemporary chronicler as a "very tall and powerful man," but by the hot-tempered son of the dispossessed Shah Muhammad as "a Sarban dog-seller." There ensued between the utterer of the taunt and its object a scuffle which ended in the death of both, and was very near including among its victims the emperor himself†. On the same day Taj Khan Kirani, disgusted by the emperor's

incapacity, or encouraged by his weakness, set out to excite a revolt in Bengal. He was pursued into this district and defeated at Chhibramau, but succeeded in making good his retreat to Chunar in Mirzapur (1554).*

In the following year the Afghan dynasty was overthrown, and that of the Mughals restored by the return of Humayun, who was succeeded in 1556 by his great son Akbar. In 1565 Ali Quli Khan, who held the fief of Jaunpur, revolted and began to plunder the country on the east bank of the Ganges. Munim Khan, Khan Khannan, was sent to Kanauj to hold the rebels in check and soon after Akbar arrived in person. The emperor proceeded by forced marches to Lucknow and Jaunpur, but Ali Quli Khan escaped to Mirzapur.† In the same year Mirz-zul-mulk and Raja Todar Mal were sent against Bahadur Shah, the brother of Ali Quli Khan, who was in this district. The imperial forces met and defeated the rebel vanguard, driving it back on the Kali Nadi, where many of the insurgents were drowned. They then dispersed in search of plunder and were surprised by the main body of the rebels under Bahadur Shah, who drove them to take refuge in Kanauj. Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan were soon afterwards pardoned, but mistaking clemency for weakness they in 1567 raised a fresh revolt and besieged the emperor's foster-brother Yusuf Khan in Shergarh, which is described as several *kos* distant from Kanauj. Akbar at once marched to relieve the fort, but on his approach Ali Quli Khan raised the siege and fled. Encamping at Bhojpur Akbar despatched a large force of cavalry under Todar Mal to operate in Oudh, while he himself pursued the rebels down country. Two months later he caught them at Mankarwal in the Allahabad district and defeated them. Ali Quli Khan was killed in the action and Bahadur Khan executed after it.‡

In Akbar's great reorganization of his empire, Kanauj became the head quarters of a division of the Agra province and included 80 parganas or mahals. Of these ten are still represented in the Farrukhabad district. Kampul, Kanauj, Saunikh, Sakrawa and Sakatpur corresponded to the modern parganas of the same names. Shamsabad included Shamsabad

* E. H. I., pp. 242-43

† *Ibid* 297 B

‡ *Ibid* V 820-1

West and East, Muhammadabad, and perhaps Paramnagar; Bhojpur contained both Pahara and Bhojpur; and Talgram was made up of the modern Talgram and Tirwa-Thatia. Chhibramau as now constituted represents both Chhibramau and Sikandarpur Adhu of Akbar's time. Paigana Khalatman belonged, not to Kanauj, but to the Khairabad government of the Oudh province. To which government Paramnagar should be assigned is doubtful, different authorities suggesting Shamsabad, Khanabad and Budaun. Few of the names of Akbar's governors or ferozies have been preserved. One was Husain Khan, who died in 1575 and was nicknamed Tukriya, or the Patcher, from his practice of compelling all Hindus within his jurisdiction to wear a distinctive patch (*tukra*) on the shoulder. He held the fief of Shamsabad, and has been termed the Bayard and Quixote of Akbar's reign. In 1592 Kanauj was given to Muzaffar Husain Mirza, son and grandson of the rebels Ibrahim and Sultan Mirza, but he proved to be a drunkard and was soon deprived of his government and imprisoned.

In 1610, Jahangir (1605--27) granted the government of Kanauj to Mirza Abdur-rahim, the son of the great Banam, with orders to "crush the rebels" by whom was apparently meant a horde of bandits which infested the neighbourhood of Sakit in the Etah district. But he was not long afterwards sent down to the Deccan, and it was probably at this time that Jahangir conferred Kanauj on his chief ecclesiastical dignitary (Sadr-i-jahan), Miran of Pihani in Hardoi. This venerable governor died in 1620, at the age, it is said, of six score years.

The reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb (1658--1707) were, so far as this district was concerned, quite uneventful, but in 1665 there was born at Mau-Rashidabad a Pathan named Muhammad Khan who was destined to play a very important part in the affairs of the empire and to found what almost became an independent local dynasty.* At the age of about twenty Muhammad Khan joined the bands of Pathan freebooters who resorted yearly to Bundelkhand and hued themselves out to the rajas of that province,

* The following account of the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad is taken from Mr. Irvine's article in Vol. XLVII J.A.S.B.

and his courage and ability very soon brought him to the front as a distinguished leader of banditti. But it was not until 1712, when he was 48 years old, that the opportunity came to display his talents on a wider stage. In that year Farrukhsiyar, on his way to contest the empire with his cousin Jahandar Shah, sent an invitation to him from Khajuraho in the Fatehpur district. Muhammad Khan joined him with 12,000 men, and at the conclusive battle of Samogar in Agra, fought on the 1st January 1713, when Jahandar Shah was routed, Muhammad Khan greatly distinguished himself in the vanguard commanded by Saiyid Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk. For his services he was rewarded with the title of Nawab and grants of land in Bundelkhand and this district. After successfully commanding expeditions against the raja of Anupshahr and Raja Meda, and joining in the campaign against Girdhar Bahadur at Allahabad, he obtained leave to return to his home. Here he occupied himself with founding the towns of Kaimganj and Muhammadabad. The first, named after the Nawab's eldest son, is not far from Mau-Rashidabad; its site lying within the lands of Chalanhi, Mau-Rashidabad, Kuberpur and Subhanpur. Muhammadabad, about fourteen miles from Farrukhabad, includes portions of five villages: Kilmapur, Kabirpur, Rohila, Muhammadpur and Takipur. On a high mound called Kai-ka-khera, the Nawab built a fort, of which only the ruins remain, while the highest point has been used as a station of the Trigonometrical Survey. It is said that Farrukhsiyar was annoyed at Muhammad Khan's presumption in naming a town after himself. To appease his wrath, the Nawab announced his intention of founding another and naming it after the emperor. About this time his father-in-law, Kasim Khan Bangash, while on his way to Mau, was set upon and killed by a party of Bamtela marauders at the village of Jamalpur, now called Kasim Bagh, three miles east of the city of Farrukhabad. Using this event as a pretext, Muhammad Khan asked for and obtained a grant of fifty-two Bamtela villages as the site of a new city. The foundations were laid in 1714. So far as is known, Muhammad Khan took little or no part in that struggle between the Barha Saiyids and the Turani faction which resulted in the deposition and death of Farrukhsiyar and the elevation of

Muhammad Shah to the throne. But in 1720, when the emperor and Saiyid Husam Ali set out for the Deccan, the Nawab seems to have made some pretence of joining. He held aloof, however till after the assassination of Husam Ali on the 30th September 1720, when, in spite of Saiyid Abdullah Khan's overtures, he declared for Muhammad Shah. At the battle of Hasanpur, in the Agra district, on the 4th and 5th November 1720, Muhammad Khan took part in the defeat of Saiyid Abdullah, who was made prisoner. He was rewarded with an increase of rank, the title Ghazanfar-i-jang (Lion of Fight), seven lakhs of rupces in cash, and a grant of paiganas Bhojpur and Shamsabad in addition to his former fiefs. In 1722 and 1723 he took part in the campaigns against Churaman Jat and in Ajmere, and in July of the latter year was ordered to Bundelkhand, where Chhatarsal Bundela had for several years been in open revolt. He was, however, recalled to oppose a Maratha attack on Gwahor, and held that fortress for seven months. On his way back to Farrukhabad in 1726, he assisted the agent of Khan Dauran Khan, who then held Talgram and Bhongaon, to reduce to submission the Chauhan Raja of Mainpuri. The tradition is that the raja, having failed to make his obeisance, fell dead by the Nawab's own arrow. In 1720 Muhammad Khan had been appointed governor of the Allahabad subah, to which was subordinate that of Bundelkhand. He also held large fiefs in Bundelkhand, which had for some time been maintained with difficulty against the Bundelas. In 1727 express orders were issued from Delhi for an advance into Bundelkhand, and to meet the expenditure necessary a grant was made of the *chuhla* of Koira in Fatehpur. Two and a half years of fighting followed, at the end of which Muhammad Khan, mainly owing to lack of support from Delhi, was compelled to evacuate Bundelkhand and bind himself never to invade it again. On his return to Delhi at the end of 1729 he was deprived of his government of Allahabad, which was conferred on Saiyid Sarbuland Khan, Mubariz-ul-mulk, but he succeeded in gaining appointment to the governorship of Malwa in September 1730. During the next two years he was engaged in constant warfare with the Marathas and in the attempt to introduce order into his new province. His forces were however insufficient and his

resources exhausted. The country yielded no revenue and no help came from Delhi. The holders of revenue-free grants, mostly great nobles of the court, secretly thwarted his efforts to remedy the prevailing disorder, and the rajas and lesser men kept wholly aloof. When, therefore, at the end of 1761, he was called upon to meet at Sitouj a Maratha army of 200,000 horse, he was compelled to submit and make terms. Apparently his enemies now found their opportunity, and he was recalled to Agra, where he arrived on the 6th December 1762. During the next four years Muhammad Khan served in several campaigns against the Marathas, and in June 1766 he took part in the attack on Bhagwant Rai. As a reward for these services he was restored to the governorship of Allahabad, but again removed after a few months. On the invasion of India by Nadir Shah in 1739, Muhammad Khan attended at Delhi, but played no important part in the events which then occurred. In the same year he left court in disgust because the government of Allahabad had been conferred on another. He was followed by some imperial officers who had orders to eject him from his possessions. They were met and defeated at Rao-ka-Sikandra in Aligarh by Muhammad Khan's third son Akbar Khan. Muhammad Khan died in 1743 at the advanced age of eighty years, and at his death his dominions were popularly stated to embrace the whole Doab from Kool in the north to Kora in the south apparently including the whole of the Farrukhabad district, the western half of Cawnpore, the whole of Etah with the exception of two small parganas in the north-western corner, two parganas of Budaun, one of Shahjahanpur, and parts of Aligarh and Etawah. But his possessions varied very much from time to time. Karauij, for instance, which in 1720 belonged to his son Qaim Khan, was afterwards bestowed on several Hindus in succession, but recovered in 1736 on his raising the objection that it was too near his home to be left in the hands of an infidel.

Qaim Khan, the eldest son of Muhammad Khan, succeeded his father without any opposition. In 1748 Safdar Jang, the subahdar of Oudh, was appointed wazir by the new emperor Ahmad Shah. Safdar Jang had long intrigued against the Bangash family, and had already once failed in an attempt to crush the

Rohillas. He now promised Qaim Khan that, if he ejected the Rohillas, he should be appointed governor of Rohilkhand. An imperial warrant to that effect arrived in September 1748, and at the same time the wazir secretly encouraged the Rohillas to resistance. His older and more experienced servants strove to prevent the Nawab from accepting this insidious offer. But the views of his favourite, the paymaster Mahmud Khan Afridi, prevailed, and the offer was accepted. Rohilkhand was at the time ruled by Hafiz Rahmat Khan, who with other chiefs was supposed to hold the country in trust for the sons of the late Nawab Ali Muhammad. Some preliminary efforts to bring the Rohillas to terms having failed, on the 12th November 1748 Qaim Khan set out with a large force from Farrukhabad, and, crossing the Ganges at Kadirganj in the Etah district, advanced towards Budaun. On the 21st November he arrived opposite the entrenched camp of the Rohillas, between the villages of Daunri and Rasulpur, about four miles south-east of Budaun city. The battle began the next morning and after an initial success Qaim Khan was caught in a ravine on either side of which troops had been concealed in the tall millets. Qaim Khan was killed along with most of the Bangash leaders, and the defeated army retreated in disorder to Farrukhabad. The result of this victory was to give the Rohillas possession of all the Bangash parganas on the left bank of the Ganges except those which now constitute the Aligarh tahsil. These were saved by the bravery of an unnamed *chela*, whose obstinate resistance compelled the Rohillas to retreat.

Qaim Khan's brother Islam Khan was now made Nawab at the instigation of his mother, the Bibi Sahiba, but his tenure of the position was brief. The Bibi Sahiba made an attempt to engage a Maratha army, but was unsuccessful, and in December 1749 the emperor Ahmad Shah, attended by the wazir Safdar Jang, marched from Delhi to Koil on his way to resume the Bangash territory. Thence Safdar Jang, with his more immediate dependents and an army of forty thousand Iranis, proceeded eastwards to Thana Daryaoganj in the Etah district, forty-five miles north-west of Farrukhabad. Orders were issued to raja Nawal Rai, the deputy governor of Oudh, to march on Farrukh-

abad from Lucknow. Crossing the Ganges and Kali rivers, he advanced on Khulaganj, where 29,000 Afghans were posted with guns. They were, however, induced to retire to Farrukhabad, and Nawal Rai occupied Khulaganj. Negotiations were opened by the Bibi Sahiba, and after a long discussion it was agreed that on payment of sixty lakhs of rupees the former territories of his family should be confirmed by grant to Imam Khan. This sum was paid, partly in cash and partly in goods, but the wazir, declaring that the payment was short by fifteen lakhs, caused the Bibi Sahiba to be detained in his camp while he himself marched on to Farrukhabad, which was occupied by Nawal Rai. Safdar Jang then returned to Delhi, taking with him five of the principal *chelas*. The newly annexed territories were added to the jurisdiction of Nawal Rai, who made Kanauj his head quarters. Here the Bibi Sahiba was kept under surveillance, while five of Muhammad Khan's sons were sent to Allahabad as hostages.

The new administration was very unpopular owing to the rapacity of the subordinate revenue agents, and when the Bibi Sahiba succeeded not long afterwards in making her escape she had little difficulty in stimulating the Pathans to revolt. Ahmad Khan, the second son of the Nawab Muhammad, was chosen as the leader, and a considerable sum of money was raised. Nawal Rai's posts at Shamshabad and in the neighbourhood of Mau were soon overpowered, and in July 1750 the Pathan army began its march eastward. Starting from Chalohi, and passing through Farrukhabad, it encamped at Rajipur near Khudaganj. Nawal Rai, who had started from Kanauj as soon as he heard of the rising, was just able to cross the Kali and encamp at Khudaganj before the arrival of the Pathans. As he had received orders from Safdar Jang to avoid an engagement till the arrival of reinforcements, he surrounded his camp with an entrenchment and remained on the defensive.

On the 21st and 22nd July 1750 the wazir detached a force of twenty thousand men under Nasir-ud-din Haidar to reinforce Nawal Rai. When this army reached Sakit, Raja Jaswant Singh of Mainpuri sent immediate information to Ahmad Khan, warning him that if he did not strike a blow at once he would

he lost. Three hours after sunset on the 1st August the Nawab set out at the head of twelve thousand foot and twelve hundred horse to surprise the enemy's camp. To effect this purpose it was necessary to make a long *détour* to the south. Here, near the river, they found the line of defence held by Barha Saiyids, who had no guns. The first attack was repulsed. But by threatening to kill himself Ahmad Khan succeeded in rallying the fugitives, and led them to a second and more successful attempt. They then made their way to the camp, which was thrown into the utmost confusion. The night was dark and rainy; and the artillery, firing at random, was unable to do any execution. The fighting continued in darkness and confusion till sunrise, when Nawal Rai, who had been with difficulty persuaded to leave his devotions and mount his elephant, was shot dead. A panic fell upon his followers, and many of them were drowned in the river. The Pathans now occupied Kanauj and Farrukhabad.

Meanwhile, Safdar Jang had collected a large army, and with it had reached Murehra in the Etah district when he heard of the defeat and death of Nawal Rai. He at once sent orders to Allahabad for the execution of the five captive sons of Muhammad Khan, and the five *chelas* were put to death in the presence of his own son Shuja-ud-daula. Ahmad Khan lost no time in advancing to meet the invader, and the two armies encountered at Ram Chatauni, seven miles east of Sahawar and five miles west of Patnali. Early in the morning of the 13th September 1750 the battle began by the advance of Ismail Khan and Suraj Mal Jat at the head of fifty thousand men against the wing of the Farrukhabad force which was commanded by Rustam Khan Afridi. The attack succeeded, Rustam Khan was slain, and his troops were pursued for several miles in the direction of Ahganj. On receipt of the tidings of Rustam Khan's death the Nawab turned to his followers and told them that Rustam Khan had defeated the army opposed to him, and that unless they exerted themselves, all the honours of the day would be another's. He then led forward his men to the attack. The enemy gave way before the Pathans' onset in spite of the efforts of Nurul Hasan of Bilgram and Muhammad Ali Khan

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to make them stand their ground. At the same time the wazir's army was attacked from the rear by a small body of Pathans which had just arrived from Shahjahanpur. The wazir himself was wounded by a bullet in the neck, and his *mahant* was killed. Disheartened by the loss of their commander, the imperial forces broke and fled. In the pursuit Nawab Ishaq Khan gave himself out for Safdar Jang and was slain. Meanwhile the wazir had been carried off in safety to Marchra, where his wound was dressed. Suraj Mal Jat and Ismail Beg, on their return from pursuing Rustam Khan's defeated corps, found the fortunes of the day changed and were glad to be allowed to withdraw unmolested.

- Ahmad Khan now took possession of all the country from
1. Koil in Aligarh to Akbarpur-Shahpur in Cawnpore, and made arrangements for the occupation of the whole of Oudh. His advance on Delhi was stopped by a conciliatory letter from the emperor, and he returned to Farrukhabad, while his son Mahmud proceeded to Lucknow, and a force under his half-brother Shadi Khan advanced down the Duab in the direction of Allahabad. Mansur Ali, another brother, was appointed governor of Phaphund, which then included parganas Saurikh, Sakatpur and Sakrawa; while a *chela* named Zul-fikar Khan was despatched in the same capacity to Shamsabad and Chhibramau. Shadi Khan, however, was defeated at Kora by Ab Quli Khan, the deputy in the Allahabad *suba*, and Ahmad Khan was obliged to march south to his assistance. The city of Allahabad was at once captured, but the fort held out, and the nawab was compelled to lay regular siege to it. Desultory fighting now went on between the two parties for some months, and in the meanwhile the wazir had time to effect a reconciliation with the emperor and to raise a new army. Messengers were sent to Kotah in Rajputana to hire the Marathas under Jai Apa Sindhia and Mulhar Rao Gaekwar. The services of Suraj Mal Jat, raja of Bharatpur, were also engaged, and an advance was made down the Duab. In March 1751, Shadi Khan, the governor of Farrukhabad, was expelled from the neighbourhood of Koil and driven back on Farrukhabad. When the news of the wazir's advance reached Ahmad Khan at

Allahabad, he decided, on the advice of a majority of his council of war, to return to Farrukhabad. The move was, however, a fatal one. Discouraged by a retreat his mercenary forces melted away until when he reached Farrukhabad he had too few men to attempt to hold the city. Entrenchments were thrown up round a small fort on the site of the modern Fatehgarh and preparations made to stand a siege.

The Marathas marched down the Duab, plundering as they went, till they reached Farrukhabad. They then selected Kasim Bagh, about half a mile from the fort, as their headquarters; while the wazir proceeded to Singhirampur. Here he attempted to build a bridge of boats across the Ganges, but was prevented by Lala Shyam Singh, who was encamped on the other bank. For over a month the siege continued without either side gaining any advantage, when Sadullah Khan arrived from Rohilkhand with a reinforcement of twelve thousand men for the nawab. Disregarding Ahmad Khan's request that he would not engage in any operations on his own account until a junction had been effected with the garrison of Fatehgarh, Sadullah Khan decided to attack the Marathas. The first onset was successful, but in the eagerness of pursuit the Rohillas were drawn far from the river bank, and Bahadur Khan of Farrukhabad was surrounded and killed. Hearing of his death, Sadullah Khan determined to retreat. After nightfall his camp was fired by the Marathas, and the sight of the flames struck terror into Ahmad Khan's garrison. The panic spread, and the Nawab, finding his efforts to restore the courage of his men unavailing, left the fort with his kinsmen and chiefs, and, crossing the Ganges at Kumhraul, took refuge with the Rohillas of Aonla.

After an unsuccessful attempt in the autumn of 1751 to invade Farrukhabad, he was driven to retreat to Kumaun, where he held out against the Marathas for several months. In the meantime news was brought from Delhi that Ahmad Shah Durrani was on his way to invade Hindustan for the second time. The emperor counselled Safdar Jang to make peace. The Marathas were also anxious to conclude the campaign, and Apa Sindhia appears to have been secretly favourable to the Pathans. In March or April 1752 terms were at last arranged.

The debt due by Safdar Jang to the Marathas for the expenses of the campaign was transferred to Ahmad Khan, who alienated to them half his territories till the debt should be extinguished. Of the forty-four parganas which the Nawab once possessed, he was assumed still to hold thirty-three. Which these were cannot now be accurately ascertained, but a list of those made over to Mulhar Rao Gaekwar has been preserved in a deed engraved on copper, and includes parganas Amritpur, Saurikh, Sakatpur, Talgram and Kanauj in this district. The management of the Maratha parganas seems, however, to have been left in the hands of Ahmad Khan, who, after paying the expenses of their administration, handed over the balance to two Maratha agents stationed at Kanauj and Aliganj. This arrangement held good till the crushing defeat of the Marathas at Panipat in 1761 made them withdraw from northern India for a time.

Ahmad Khan, who had been made *Amin-ul-umra* and imperial paymaster, did good service at Panipat, and after the battle seized the opportunity of recovering nearly all his lost territories. This, however, occasioned a quarrel with Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, who, having cleared the lower Duab of the Marathas, wished to appropriate all the parganas lately in their possession. Accompanied by the emperor Shah Alam, Shuja-ud-daula advanced, towards the end of 1762, as far as Kanauj, with the intention of conquering Farrukhabad. His ostensible reason was that Ahmad Khan had assumed various privileges of royalty. Ahmad Khan, however, made such vigorous preparations, and was so well supported by Hafiz Rahmat and the Rohillas, that the project was abandoned. Many of the wazir's troops openly refused to fight against the Pathans, and six thousand of them deserted.

After his defeat by the English at Baksar on the 23rd October 1764, Shuja-ud-daula, having failed to obtain the services of the Rohillas, was reduced to appealing to his hereditary enemy Ahmad Khan at Farrukhabad. The Nawab, however, refused to take the field, and strongly advised Shuja-ud-daula to make peace with the English. Disregarding this advice, the Wazir again set out eastwards supported by Imad ul mulk and

some Marathas. On the 3rd May 1765 he was defeated by General Carnac at Jajman, and, deserted by his Maratha allies, he had no course open to him but to throw himself on his enemy's generosity. A treaty was concluded by which he recovered his territories, with the exception of Kora and Allahabad, which were assigned to the emperor Shah Alam as his demesne.

In 1769 the Marathas again made their appearance under Mahdaji Sindhia, Holkar and others. After levying tribute from the Rajput princes and defeating the Jats at Bharatpur, they entered into an agreement with Najib Khan to attack Farrukhabad. Hafiz Rahmat, whose fief of Etawah was equally threatened, joined Ahmad Khan, and encamped between Fategaon and Farrukhabad. In October 1770, Najib Khan fell ill and died, and the Marathas continued the campaign alone. In several actions they defeated the Pathans, who did not behave with their usual spirit, and in May 1771 Hafiz Rahmat relinquished his parganas and returned home. Ahmad Khan, left alone to bear the whole brunt of the attack, was quickly forced to return to the Marathas the sixteen and a half parganas which they had held until 1761.

In July 1771, Ahmad Khan died, and was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Jang, a boy of 13 or 14 years of age. The real power was in the hands of the paymaster, Fakhri-ud-daula, who proved a loyal servant. The emperor was at the moment at Kanauj, and was urged by his favourite Hisam-ud-din to resume the Farrukhabad territory. Sending an urgent message for assistance to Mahdaji Sindhia, who was then in the Upper Duab, the emperor marched at once through Khudaganj to Farrukhabad, and encamped just outside the city. Fakhri-ud-daula at once set about collecting a large force of Pathans, and made every preparation for resistance. At the same time he wrote respectfully to the emperor, proposing a settlement, and made overtures to Najaf Khan, who was in the imperial camp. These overtures were accepted, and it was arranged that Muzaffar Jang should succeed to his father's title and territories on condition of his paying six lakhs of rupees to the emperor and one lakh to Najaf Khan. No sooner had Shah

Alam left the district than a rising broke out headed by Murtaza Khan, one of the surviving sons of Muhammad Khan, and Abdul-majid Khan, who induced the widow of Qaim Khan to join them. She began to enlist Afidis, and to fortify herself at her residence in Amethi, just outside the city. Fakhri-ud-daula led his troops against the place and carried it by storm. Murtaza Khan was wounded and taken prisoner, and died in prison. Not long after this, Fakhri-ud-daula was assassinated by a partisan of Murtaza Khan, and his place was taken by Rahmat Khan. In 1773 Muzaffar Khan joined Shuja-ud-daula in expelling the Marathas from the southern parganas of this district, and this tract, which included all Farrukhabad south of the Kali Nadi except Chhibraman and Sakrawa, henceforward became subordinate to Oudh. It was not long before the famous eunuch Almas Ali Khan was appointed governor of the conquered territory. The distinctive feature of his administration was the way in which he encouraged or allowed his subordinates to usurp the lands of the old Rajput proprietors. To this policy the rajas of Tirwa and Thatia, and the Chaudhari of Bishangarh, owed their possessions and their titles. North of the Kali Nadi, in the jurisdiction of the Bangash Nawab, there were no *talukas*. The difference in government produced, indeed, a marked difference in agricultural conditions, and there can be no doubt that the dwellers on the left bank of the Kali were less misruled than those on the right. Muzaffar Jang was present at the battle of Katra in 1774, between the English and the Rohillas, where Hafiz Rahmat lost his life, and it was he who identified the head of the Rohilla chieftain. On his return to Farrukhabad, Muzaffar Jang brought with him some of the disciplined Lucknow troops, and with their aid severely punished the mutinous Bangash soldiery settled in the Bangashpura quarter of his capital.

From this period dates the connection of the English with the district, and the establishment of the bazar and cantonment of Fatehgarh. By the treaty of Fyzabad, signed by the Oudh Nawab Asif-ud-daula early in 1775, it was agreed that a regular brigade of the Company's troops should be stationed in the Oudh territories. Asif-ud-daula then applied for a second force, officered by Englishmen, to consist of six battalions of

sepoys, a corps of artillery, and a proportion of cavalry. The brigade thus formed was in 1777 incorporated with the army of the Company and stationed at Fatehgarh. It went by the name of the temporary brigade; and the annual cost to Oudh was twenty-three lakhs of rupees. In 1779 the Nawab of Oudh asked to be relieved of the cost of this brigade, but the request was refused. By the engagement of the 19th September 1781 the temporary brigade was to be recalled within the Company's territory. Warren Hastings, the Governor General, did not fulfil this engagement, but renewed the promise when he visited Lucknow in 1784. He left orders to that effect with the Resident, but on reaching Calcutta found that his action was overruled. Another appeal was made to Lord Cornwallis, but without success. The tribute of four lakhs due from Farrukhabad to Oudh had been assigned for part payment of the expenses of the contingent at Fatehgarh, and this soon fell into arrears. In May 1780 an English Resident was appointed, but was withdrawn in 1785, when Lord Cornwallis had succeeded to the post of Governor General.

Farrukhabad affairs formed the fifth article of accusation in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. The appointment of a Resident, after it had been promised that he should be withdrawn, appears to have given foundation to the charge. The Nawab is described as a weak and inexperienced young man. With respect to the territory, it is stated that Almas Ali Khan, the Oudh amil, had taken Marchra at an inadequate rent. Khakhmatman and Sauj were constantly plundered. The collection of ferry dues close to Fatehgarh had been seized by the Nawab Wazir's officers; while the landholders of four parganas had fortified themselves in their castles. Farrukhabad was deserted. There had been no stable government there for many years. The Nawab Wazir and his ministers, the residents of Lucknow and Farrukhabad, the camp authorities at Fatehgarh, Nawab Muzaffar Jang, and twenty diwans, had all interfered in turn.

Muzaffar Jang died on the 22nd October 1796, after a short illness. Poison was suspected, and Mr. Lumsden, the Resident at Lucknow, came with Asaf-ud-daula to Farrukhabad to enquire into the matter and settle the succession. The crime was brought home to the Nawab's eldest son, Rustam Ali Khan,

Deat
Muz.
Jang

who was designated to succeed him died after 1824. There were two claimants to the succession. The *chelas* Parmal Khan and Muhamdi Khan put forward the late Nawab's second son, Imdad Husain, Nasir-i-jang, then thirteen or fourteen years of age. On the other hand, Umrao Begam, the first wife of Muzaffar Jang, supported by her brother Amin-ud-daula, produced her grand-nephew and adopted son, Dilawar Jang, grandson of Amin-ud-daula. The dispute was at length ended by a compromise, in virtue of which Nasir Jang succeeded, under the tutelage of Amin-ud-daula. It was stipulated that the new Nawab should receive an allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year, but in every other respect Amin-ud-daula had uncontrolled authority.

x By the treaty of the 10th November 1801, the Nawab Wazir had ceded to the Company not only his territories in Oudh, but also his parganas in this district and the four and a half lakhs paid as tribute by Farrukhabad to Oudh, and in 1802 the Hon. Henry Wellesley was at Bareilly engaged in settling the newly ceded lands. An attempt of Amin-ud-daula to reduce Nasir Jang's allowance determined the latter to see whether he could not make a more secure bargain with the English. Proceeding to Bareilly, he opened negotiations, and on the 4th June 1802 there was signed at Bareilly a treaty by which the Nawab ceded his country in return for a yearly allowance of Rs. 1,08,000 to himself and his dependents.* All rent-free grants, pensions and *jagirs*, which could be shown to have been established previously to the death of Muzaffar Jang, were to be continued.

Less than a year after the cession, while Henry Wellesley was engaged in organizing the newly-acquired district, his brother Arthur was preparing to crush a Maratha league in the Deccan. On the outbreak of the war, the conduct of a campaign in Northern India was entrusted to General Lake. With the first Maratha war this district had little to do, General Lake merely encamping at Kanauj in August 1803, on his way to the capture of Aligarh, which was then held for Sindhia by the French adventurer Perron. But the belief that the British were now fully occupied led the Raja of Thatia to revolt. His castle was besieged and stormed, and his domains confiscated, while he himself

* Aitchison's Treaties II p 38

fled southwards across the Jamna. At the same time the Mewatis, taking advantage of the general disturbance, made a brief incursion into the west of the district, plundering all landholders who refused to satisfy their demands. Before war was over, the dearth already described * had begun; and famine had no sooner ceased than the Duab was troubled with a fresh Maratha campaign. In October 1804 Holkar laid siege to Delhi. But on the arrival of Lord Lake he precipitately crossed the Jamna, determining to ravage the Duab with fire and sword. He had obtained two days' start before Lake set out in pursuit and the Marathas were famous for their forced marches. But so hot was the pursuit that when, on the evening of the 16th November, the British force rode into Aliganj, they found the town still burning, and learnt that the enemy were at Farrukhabad, only thirty-six miles away. Lake's horses had been ridden twenty-two miles that day, but he nevertheless determined to surprise the Marathas by a night attack. At nine in the evening he pushed forward without tents or baggage of any kind, and at daybreak on the 17th the head of his column reached the outskirts of the Maratha camp. The surprise was complete and crushing. Holkar had crossed the Jamna first with sixty thousand horse. After he had crossed the Kali Nadi in his flight he could not collect ten thousand. Three thousand had fallen in the surprised camp. The rest deserted, dispersed, and never joined him again. Lake followed up his success by pursuing Holkar for over ten miles. When he gave up the chase he had marched over seventy miles in twenty-four hours, and three hundred and fifty miles during the preceding fortnight. Only two of his Europeans had been killed; but the pace of the march had told severely on his horses, of which seventy-five died or became useless. On the arrival of the infantry under Colonel Don, who had followed Lake with almost incredible speed, horse and foot pressed on into Farrukhabad city. Their arrival was timely and welcome, for the unruly Pathans of the town and district were besieging the fort of Fatehgarh, where the British residents and their small detachment of native troops had taken refuge. The chief officer of the city police had fled across the Ganges. Two nobles of the Nawab's family had joined

* p. 43.

the Marathas, and the Nawab himself had obeyed an order to visit Holkar, putting off with excuses the request of the judge-magistrate for a gun. The cavalry stables, the old ice-house and the bungalows of the English officers in cantonments had been fired, and the district was in the first stage of rebellion. Short work was now made of the insurgents investing the fort, and Lake set out once more in pursuit of Holkar. The district was not again invaded, but in the later annals of the war Fatehgarh is mentioned as an active arsenal; while the activity of the Farrukhabad mint is indicated by the fact that the Raja of Bhartpur was mulcted in two million rupees of its coinage.

In 1813 Nasir Jang drank himself to death, and was succeeded by his ten-year-old son Khadim Husain, who bore the title Shaukat-i-jang. Ten years later, in 1823, the latter died of small-pox at Delhi, leaving an infant son, Tajammul Husain, who died without issue in 1846, and was succeeded by his first cousin, Tafazzul Husain of infamous memory.

The district had enjoyed unbroken peace for half a century, when in 1857 the Mutiny broke out. From the early part of that year there had been great excitement in the Farrukhabad district, a legend that the government was issuing leather rupees coated with silver in order at once to depreciate the currency and destroy caste, obtaining considerable credence locally. In March, Major Weller of the Engineers received a visit at Fatehgarh from a native banker, who informed him that he had some of these rupees in his possession. The usual fables of flour polluted with bone-dust, and contaminated wells were also in circulation. As elsewhere, these stories probably had a considerable effect on the Hindu population, while the Pathans of Farrukhabad, always a turbulent lot, were irritated by memories of recent supremacy, and ready to catch at any pretext for revolt. But the disaffection was not widespread, and there can be no doubt that if the

* The authorities for the account of the Mutiny are the *Mutiny Narratives* of Sir G. Harvey, Mr. W. G. Probyn and Mr. C. R. Lindsay, all of the Indian Civil Service; Kaye and Mallsen's history, and the *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion* of Mr. Edwards, I.C.S. Also the narratives of Messrs Churcher and Jones.

military mutiny had been promptly suppressed there would have been no civil rebellion.

News of the outbreak of Meerut was received at Fatehgarh some four days after its occurrence; and the gravity of the situation was at once recognized by the English residents of the district. On the 14th May, the Magistrate, Mr. Probyn, convened a meeting, at which it was resolved to strengthen the guards at the central treasury and the outlying police stations and tahsils. Troopers on leave in the district were ordered to report themselves for duty, and the officer commanding at Fatehgarh, Colonel G. A. Smith, agreed to send a party of the 10th Native Infantry to watch the jail. About the future behaviour of this corps, the only regiment in the station, little general apprehension seems to have been felt at first. By crossing the sea to Burma, the 10th had lost caste among their comrades of the Bengal army, and they were taunted with being a "Christian" force. Still, it was necessary to be forearmed against any possible disloyalty on their part, and therefore the two guns on the parade ground were brought to the house of Colonel Smith, where the English were to meet in case of an outbreak. A few days later, however, the rendezvous was changed to the fort. For about a week all was tranquil, it was the proverbial calm which precedes the tempest. When sounded by their officers, the 10th promised loyalty to the death. But the Magistrate's informers were unanimous in telling a different tale. The "Christian" regiment proposed to spare no one but its own officers; nor, if others slew its officers, would it interfere. In the third week of May arrived ugly rumours regarding the troubled state of the neighbouring Shahjahanpur district, and a force of several hundred matchlockmen was despatched to prevent any rebels from crossing the Ramganga. But all was quiet, and after halting a few days they returned. On the 22nd arrived the news that the 9th Native Infantry had mutinied at Aligarh. Mr. Probyn now regarded the mutiny of the 10th as inevitable, and some of the regimental officers, at length deeming sedition possible, sent their wives to Allahabad. From Aligarh the wave of rebellion rolled eastwards across the adjoining district of Etah; and Mr. Probyn thought it prudent to depute an officer to maintain some sort of order in Aliganj, the tahsil of that

district which skirts Harrukhabal on the west. Starting from Fateelga h on the 26th with a few irregular native troopers Mr. Bramley reached Aliganj, where he was afterwards joined by Mr. Edwards and other fugitives from Budaun. On the 27th, Mr. Probyn learnt that a detachment of Oudh irregular infantry and cavalry could be spared from Cawnpore if he wanted them. He replied that he "thought the 10th could be depended on as long as no outsiders came," and requested that the force might be detained at or near Gursahaiganj. On the 29th it arrived at that place, while the officer commanding rode on with a small advance-guard into Fatehgarh. He left the same day, to lead his detachment against the rebels of Etah, and on the following day was murdered by that detachment in Mainpuri.

A soldier of the 10th returning from leave through Gursahaiganj had lingered to gossip with the irregulars; and brought back the disturbing rumour that they were coming to disarm his regiment. Visiting the parade ground at the request of the adjutant, Mr. Probyn found the men discussing the matter together in excited groups. He did what he could to pacify them. But on the same night (the 29th) they broke out, seizing their arms; and it was only Colonel Smith's great tact that induced them to return to their duty. This first overt act of rebellion roused all, except perhaps Colonel Smith himself, to a true sense of the danger. The idea of holding the fort with the 200 sepoys for whose fidelity the Colonel vouched was abandoned. And by the beginning of June, when showers had swollen the Ganges, all had arranged for boats in which to escape down the river. Meanwhile the outbreak of mutiny in Shahjahanpur had let loose a host of convicts, who carried the contagion into this district; and on the 1st of June the officer in charge of the Aligarh police station galloped into Fatehgarh with the news that the trans-Gangotic parganas were in rebellion, and that he had been forced to fly for his life. Mr. Probyn at once anticipated by a few days the order, usual about this time of the year, for breaking up the bridge of boats at Ghatiyaghat.* But the very next day showed that this measure

* Mr. Probyn's narrative. Mr. Lindsay says that Colonel Smith broke up the bridge, with the assistance of the 10th, about a fortnight later.

was insufficient to check rebellion from crossing the Ganges. On the 2nd June a mixed body of three mutinous regiments, two of irregular horse and one of irregular foot, had passed into Kanauj by a ferry further down stream. Traversing that tahsil without causing much havoc, they marched up the Grand Trunk Road through Gursahaiganj and Chhibramau, sacking the police stations at both places, and the tahsil at the latter.* The tahsil treasure, amounting to some Rs. 8,460, was plundered; but not before the tahsildar had made a vain attempt to convey it to the friendly castle of Dushangarh. Both the tahsildar and the chief police officer of Chhibramau managed to escape with their lives; but both had seen enough of the rebel power to make them serve the rebel government afterwards established. From Gursahaiganj a handful of the mutinous troopers rode on the 3rd June to Fatehgarh, where they fraternized with the now openly disaffected 10th. A report was spread that the latter regiment would rise when joined on the morrow by the remainder of the Oudh irregulars. Colonel Smith, believing that the bulk of his corps would remain faithful, resolved to throw up a barricade on the Gursahaiganj road against the Oudh troopers. But the rest of the European residents were more sceptical as to the loyalty of the 10th, and all, except Mr. Probyn and the regimental officers, resolved to escape down the river that night.

After nightfall on the 3rd June, some 115 Europeans and Eurasians, men, women and children, embarked on the Ganges in about a dozen vessels. There dwelt on the other side of the Ganges a powerful landholder, who for his services in the Mutiny was afterwards created Raja of Hardoi. It had been arranged that with the aid of this Hardeo Bakhsh, whose retainers accompanied the flotilla, the fugitives should make for Cawnpore or Allahabad. In the event of mutiny and massacre, Mr. Probyn had been promised a refuge in Hardeo's castle of Dhampur, just over the frontier in Hardoi. But at the last moment he was persuaded to push off with the rest, at about 1 a. m. on the morning of the 4th. Anchoring at daylight at a place called Dahlia, about twelve miles down the river, they continued their voyage

* Mr. Lindsay. Mr. Probyn says that the plundered tahsil was Kanauj. But his account is not very circumstantial; and it appears from Mr. Lindsay's narrative that the Kanauj treasure was not robbed until later.

in the evening receiving as they passed Kusumkhor, a heavy fire from the villagers.* Here one of the boats grounded on a sand-bank, and in pushing it off two of the passengers were severely wounded. On the morning of the 5th the whole flotilla moored about two miles below the confluence of the Ganges and Ramganga. Here the fugitives were startled by the tidings that a large force of mutinous cavalry had just crossed the river a few miles down stream. Many therefore were glad to accept the invitation of Hardeo Bakhsh and to go up the Ramganga to Dharmpur. But some sixty-five, with whom were several unenumerated families of children, continued their flight down the Ganges. On arriving opposite to Mahdewa and Beloi off Kanauj, they were surrounded, plundered, and even fired on by the Rajput villagers; but on payment of a ransom of Rs. 1,000 they were permitted, without further molestation, to reach Nawabganj in the Cawnpore district. Here they were seized by mutineers, and, being afterwards brought before the Nana Sahib, were brutally massacred.

On the morning following the flight of the Europeans, the 10th again mutinied. On the 28th of May, Mr. Probyn had been prevented by the threatening attitude of the soldiery from removing the district treasure into the fort. But now, on the 4th, after Mr. Probyn's departure, Colonel Smith once more attempted the important transfer. This gave the troops an opportunity of which they eagerly took advantage. On parade that morning a musket was pointed at Colonel Smith. Its discharge was prevented by a native officer; but the mutinous abuse which arose from the ranks warned the English officers to retire. Some, including the commandant, were overtaken at the gate of the fort, and kept there until the treasure was brought out on to the parade-ground. Others, though fired on, reached their boats safely, and overtook the main flotilla that morning, some twelve miles down the river. But when they saw the whole Rs. 2,80,000 safe in the open under a guard and two guns, the 10th were softened. By assuring them of his conviction that the recruits alone were to blame, and that the mass of the regiment

* This village was afterwards confiscated as a punishment. The proprietors were Raikwar Rajputs, converted to Islam.

was staunch, and by permitting them to help themselves to two months' pay, and promising them six months' war allowances Colonel Smith succeeded in enticing them back to their duty. And for several days nothing occurred to inflame their smouldering disloyalty. The Oudh mutineers who had been advancing on Fatehgarh had heard of Colonel Smith's barricade, and, doubting the temper of the 10th, had rejoined their comrades on the road to Delhi.

Both out in the district and at its head quarters British rule was practically dead. On the 4th of June a force of rebel cavalry crossed the Ganges and plundered the Kanauj tahsil. The loyal tahsildar had buried the bulk of the treasure; but its place of concealment was discovered by a rebel police officer, who appropriated part himself and left the remainder to the troopers. On the same day at Fatehgarh the Nawab of Farrukhabad arrogated to himself the right of suppressing disturbances. He proclaimed that he should blow from guns any bad characters concerned in breaking the peace. For this he was taken to task by Colonel Smith; and it was proved three days later that his assistance was not as yet required. Having appointed several of their number generals, colonels and lieutenants, the prisoners in the jail on the 7th shook off discipline. On proceeding to the scene of the disturbance, Captain Vibart was received with volleys of stones and abuse. But a company of the 10th, which was ordered to the spot, made short work of this outbreak. Their fire killed seven of the prisoners, wounded eight more, and scared others into leaping down wells. The satisfaction hereby produced gave rise to an impressive but hollow ceremony. Harangued by their Colonel, the 10th swore on their colours to be true; while the Colonel himself swore to forgive all that was past. But the treasure, round which an entrenchment had been thrown up, remained in the keeping of the regiment.

On the 8th, news of these doings brought back from Dharmpur Mr. Probyn and some of the regimental officers who had fled on the 4th; and on the following day arrived other British fugitives from Budaun. Mr. Edwards and his three companions had parted from Messrs. Bramley and Phillips in Etah, the two latter making their way to Agra. At Kaimganj

and Shamsabad the Budaun party was coldly received, and, on quitting the Jafar Begam's residence at the latter place, one of them, Mr. Gibson, was surrounded and slain by a mob of armed ruffians. Disguised as natives, the remaining three reached Fatehgarh. Mr. Probyn was convinced that the 10th would again mutiny; he was also informed that a body of Oudh rebels was threatening Dharmpur. On June 10th, therefore, he returned to that place, accompanied by the Budaun fugitives. On his arrival he was surprised to find that the other fugitives, distrusting Hardeo, had resolved to quit Dharmpur. On the 11th came an invitation from Colonel Smith, who proposed to fight his way down to Allahabad with 150 sepoys on whose fidelity he thought he could rely. This was eagerly accepted, and by the 13th all the English at Dharmpur, except Messrs Probyn and Edwards, and the former's family, had left for Fatehgarh. These remained on at Dharmpur till August, when they escaped to recaptured Cawnpore.

About the 15th June, the mutineers from Sitapur, consisting of the 41st Native and 10th Oudh Local Infantry, with a regiment of cavalry, arrived at Allahganj. They had already written to the regiment at Fatehgarh, inviting it to slaughter its officers. The letter was shown to Colonel Smith, who dictated an answer. But the answer actually returned was: "Come. You may kill our officers; we have sworn not to do so; but no opposition will be offered to you." On the 16th the Fatehgarh regiment demanded and obtained the release of a criminal who was to have been hanged that day, and the courts hitherto kept open by Captain Vivart and Deputy Collector Kalb Husain were closed. On the 17th all the mounted police of the district, with one honourable exception, crossed the river to welcome the invaders. The Nawab sent a deputation of Muslim retainers for the same purpose, and that night the native officers of his regiment warned Colonel Smith that "time was up", and that the English had better withdraw into the fort.

The advice was instantly taken; and of the 150 men on whom Colonel Smith had counted but one followed his commander.*

* Named Kalai Khan. After his escape from the boat boarded at Singhrampur (see below) he was captured and blown from one of the nawab's guns.

The remainder of the regiment proclaimed Tafazzul Husain as their ruler and fired a royal salute in his honour. That morning (the 18th) the Oudh mutineers crossed the Ganges and encamped in a grove near the city. The next acts of the 10th were to break open the jail, release the convicts whom they had lately assisted in suppressing, plundered the European station, and set fire to its houses. In that station five Europeans or Eurasians were still at large. One, a wealthy old lady, was murdered; two, clerks in the magistrate's office, escaped in disguise to different villages; and a fourth secreted herself in a stack of tamarisk, whence she was at night conveyed to safety across the Ganges. A fifth, the planter Mr. D. Churcher, concealed himself in a storehouse under some hides, which were tossed about without revealing him. At night he escaped to a neighbouring village, whence five days later he found his way into the fort.

On the afternoon of the 18th some companies of the Oudh mutineers went over to the lines of the Fatehgarh regiment to share the plunder. But the 10th had already refused to surrender the treasure to the Nawab, and had no intention of sharing it with outsiders. A skirmish ensued, and several sepoys of both parties were left dead on the parade ground. But the Oudh men returned with reinforcements, and their superior numbers menaced the 10th into parley. After much angry discussion that regiment consented to divide the spoil, giving up their colours and ammunition in earnest of good faith. But the same night they faithlessly plundered and distributed the treasure, most of them absconding to the opposite bank of the Ganges. When the Oudh mutineers found that the treasure had escaped them, their rage of disappointment knew no bounds. They set fire to every English house yet standing, and plundered the native shops. Two companies of the 10th still remained at Fatehgarh, and the Nawab was requested to send them against the English in the fort. But the 10th had got all they wanted, and had never, in spite of their mutiny, thirsted after the blood of their officers. They declined to assault the fort; but to show that their refusal did not proceed from cowardice, they at once accepted an engagement with the Oudh rebels. The result was that most of the 10th were slaughtered, while the Nawab ordered its few survivors to quit the city.

He next proposed that the Sitapur men should themselves attack the British stronghold. But they answered that the proper hour had not yet arrived, and that their astrologers had fixed the 25th as the date on which the siege should begin.

The garrison of the fort had therefore a week's respite in which to prepare for attack. "There was," writes Sir John Kaye, "a gloomy prospect before them. The fort was in a most miserable condition for all purposes of defence. There was a glut of gun-carriages and models of all kinds of ordnance. But there was a dearth both of serviceable guns and of ammunition. It is stated that there were six guns on the ramparts, and an eighteen-inch howitzer, but that only thirty round-shots could be mustered. Of small-arm ammunition there was a better supply, but many of the cartridges were blank. Provisions were with difficulty obtained; but after a while a flock of forty or fifty sheep were driven within the walls by the help of a sepoy of the 11th.* There was a population of about a hundred and twenty Christian people in the garrison, one-fourth of whom were capable of bearing arms. The rest were women and children. There was only one artillery officer—Major Robertson, of the Gun-carriage Agency—in the fort. But Colonel Tudor Tucker, of the cavalry, who had learnt the gun-drill at Addiscombe, was improvised into an artillery commandant, and right well he did the work."†

The weak point of the besieged, then, was not a dearth of provisions, but a dearth of men and artillery. Of the twelve bastions but three could be manned; and in these were placed pickets commanded respectively by Colonels Smith, Tucker and Goldie. But on occasions like this, seniority bows to energy; and the real commandant of the beleaguered garrison was Captain Vibart. True to their promise, the Sitapur mutineers on the 25th moved to the Shisham Bagh, cleared the ground for action, and opened fire. They had the two guns which had been used to guard the treasure, and of these one was placed at Ishwar Chandra's house under cover of picked marksmen; the other opposite

* One of the regiments which had been quartered at Meerut.

† Sepoy War, Bk. VIII, Ch. 20. The passage is founded on two paragraphs of Mr. Lindsay's narrative.

to the gates of the fort. at a distance sufficiently safe from musketry fire. Only two Europeans, neither of them soldiers, survived to tell the tale of the siege, and its details are clouded in a mist of obscurity. We know, however, that for nine days bullets rained into the fort without causing much damage that could have been avoided by prudence. Three of the besieged, including Colonel Tucker, were killed, and four, among whom was Mr. Thornhill the Judge, were wounded. But in almost every case except that of Mr Thornhill, who accidentally wounded himself, the victim was shot while rashly watching through an embrasure the effect of his own fire. The women and children were securely housed in the residence attached to the Gun-carriage Agency. But the wife of Sergeant Ahern, who had been killed, posted herself in a bastion and showed herself a good shot ; while Chaplain Fisher devoted himself to the same occupation. The besiegers made frequent assaults, in which they were assisted by the disaffected Musalman population of the city, the Nawab supplying the rebels with ammunition, sulphur, ladders, and other means of attack. The first attack, which like most of the others came from the Husainpur side, was on Colonel Goldie's picket; the next of any importance was on Colonel Smith's. Both were repulsed ; but in the latter the besiegers managed for a time to hold two of the unoccupied bastions. Finding their two light guns powerless to make practicable breaches, the rebels had recourse to mining. Until the 1st July all their mines burst harmlessly ; but early on the morning of that day the besieged were startled by an explosion which blew down a part of the curtain wall. And they had immediately afterwards to repel a third great assault, also on Colonel Smith's picket. The chances of prolonging the defence were now so small that Colonel Smith that day despatched a despairing appeal for aid to any British officer his lines might reach : written chiefly in French, and addressed "au magistrat de Mainpuri, ou à un officier attaché à une armée de soldats Européens." It said that the fort was closely besieged by 1,000 insurgents (a very moderate estimate), and that without immediate help there was no chance of successful resistance. The letter reached Agra, where Major Weller offered to lead a detachment to the relief of

Fatehgarh. The offer was not accepted and the relief would in any case have been too late.

On the 2nd July another unsuccessful assault was delivered and next day it was discovered that the besiegers had begun to undermine Colonel Smith's bastion, the very key of the stronghold. Ammunition was running short; constant exposure to the sun by day and constant watching by night had enfeebled the defenders. They were little more than thirty in number, and any attempt to countermine would have depleted the walls. It was decided, therefore, to quit the fort and drop down the Ganges that night. The evacuation was safely accomplished as planned; and at 2 a. m. on the 4th July three boats pushed off, commanded respectively by Colonel Smith, Colonel Goldie and Major Robertson. The crew of the last boat was exclusively European, for boatmen had been difficult to hire, and, except two faithful sepoys and a cook, the native retainers of the garrison had slunk one by one away.

Some six or eight miles down the river, the boatmen of Colonel Goldie's boat, being then opposite their own village, were allowed to land for assistance and never returned. The villagers of Sundarpur seem at the same time to have opened a sharp fire on the passengers. A party of the latter charged out and amply avenged the attack; but the boat was too cumbersome for management by amateurs and was abandoned for Colonel Smith's.* As the two remaining vessels passed Bhojpur several round-shot were harmlessly fired at them from a gun on the bank. But two large ferry boats filled with sepoys had for some time been observed following the fugitives, and when, therefore, just above Singhirampur, Major Robertson's boat grounded immovably on a sandbank, all hope was abandoned by the crew. The approaching boats opened a heavy fire, which rapidly grew insupportable, and, at Major Robertson's request,† the survivors threw themselves overboard. Most were drowned, some were slaughtered on the spot, a few were captured and conveyed back to Fatehgarh.

* Narrative of Mr. Gavin Jones. Mr. Lindsay, of whose statement that of Mr. Jones is an appendix, says that Colonel Goldie's boat was abandoned because its rudder was damaged; but Colonel Smith's would seem to have been the boat with the damaged rudder.

† Jones and Lindsay

Four only escaped. Mr. Fisher, the chaplain and Mr. Jones, both of them wounded, reached Colonel Smith's boat; while Mr. Churcher, with the assistance of an oar, brought the sorely-wounded Major Robertson to land on an island. Here they were found that night by the proprietor, Lala Singh, of Karhar, who gave them harbour and refused to betray them for the price set on their heads. Major Robertson did not long survive his wounds. Mr. Churcher, refusing the opportunity given him of escaping to Cawnpore with Messrs. Probyn and Edwards, nobly remained with his friend till the last, and after hiding for many weeks in the fields of tall sugarcane ultimately made his way back to Fatehgarh after its reoccupation by the British. As Colonel Smith's boat passed Singhirampur a shower of bullets and grape-shot killed three passengers and shattered its rudder. Drifting on, it stranded on a sandbank some five or six miles further down, opposite Tehra in the Hardoi district. The villagers were loyal, and the fugitives consented to land for the refreshments offered them. But the inhabitants of a disaffected village soon appeared, and seemed disposed to plunder the party. Colonel Smith hastily ordered all into the boat, and shoved off. Prevented by his wound from obeying in time the Colonel's summons Mr. Jones was left behind. This apparent misfortune was the means of saving his life. He afterwards joined Messrs. Probyn and Edwards at Dharmpur, and escaped with them. Colonel Smith's ill-fated party continued their voyage till opposite Bithur, where they were overpowered, captured, and all massacred.

The survivors of Major Robertson's boat, eight or nine women and children, were confined in an outhouse of the Nawab's palace at Farrukhabad, where they were regularly fed and the wounded tended by a native doctor. They were not the only captives. Ghulam Ali, a traitor who, after serving in our police at Muhammadabad, had been appointed chief of the rebel police at Farrukhabad, was especially active in his search for Eurasians and Native Christians. In various hiding-places about the station he had discovered nine of the former and six of the latter; and these, who included some men, were confined in the same place as the prisoners from Singhirampur. There is no evidence to show that on their way to or during confinement these captives

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were treated with any exceptional brutality, and it seems clear that the Nawab himself did not desire their murder. Ghulam Ali, however, had resolved upon it, and resorted to stratagem to accomplish his object. Getting a letter written in English, as if from the captives to their countrymen elsewhere, he professed to have anticipated its despatch by seizure. The soldiery at once clamoured for the death of the Christians; and, fearing that he would be deposed in favour of his brother Sakhawat, the Nawab yielded. On the 23rd July the captives were led to the parade ground and butchered in presence of a great crowd; the women and children being shot down with grape, and the men sabred.* This senseless murder of women and children seems here as elsewhere to have been induced by the absurd fancy that the extirpation of the small British colony in India was the extirpation of the whole British race.

With the enthronement of Tafazzul Husain as Nawab on June the 18th the formation of a rebel government had been taken in hand. His unruly dominion was soon made to include not only the British district of Farrukhabad, but as much of Etah as his nominal servants could coerce into recognition of his power. "It is doubtful whether he much delighted in the greatness which had been thrust upon him. He was a man of quiet habits and *dilettante* tastes, fond of painting and illuminating, and, like others both in the east and west, of the same artistic tendencies, somewhat addicted to epicurean practices. He liked dancing girls better than soldiers, and had more pleasure in the society of parasites than of public functionaries. He had a traditional ascendancy in the province, and that was all. He was a weak rather than a bad man, and there were many people about him whose hatred of the English was more intense than his own." But if the Nawab himself was weak, his advisers were in many cases men of adventurous energy. Chief among these was Ashraf Khan, a connection of the Bangash family, who had himself asserted claims to the Farrukhabad Nawabi, and was, on

* Kaye, Edwards, Churcher and Lindsay all state that the prisoners were blown from guns. But this is disproved by the judgement of Mr. H. D. Robertson, who condemned Ghulam Ali to death. See his judgement of 6th November 1858, printed as an appendix to Mr. Lindsay's report.

account of his father's services to Lord Lake, in receipt of a British pension of Rs. 700 monthly. He was appointed Mushir-i-Khass, and, leaguering himself with the Nawab's favourite wife, soon became monarch rather than minister. By his advice the Nawab's territory was divided into two great shires, eastern and western. To the first, which included the three southern and part of the head quarters tahsils, an influential drunkard named Muhsan Ali was appointed Nazim or Lord-Lieutenant. The second, which comprised the rest of the district* with the Aliganj and Kasganj tahsils of Etah, was entrusted to the government of one Ahmad Yar, a brother-in-law of Ashrat Khan, and like him a British pensioner.

The highest appellate court was the privy council, composed of two commissioned officers of the 41st Native Infantry named Ganga Singh and Sheoghulam Dichhit, with Ashrat Khan for president. Under them was a court of three muftis, who were allowed to supplement their small monthly salary of Rs. 100 by a large commission on the amount of all decrees and processes. This seems to have been the only civil court; and indeed few civil suits were instituted. In such cases the procedure much resembled that in vogue under British rule; and the judgements of the chief British Court, the Sadr Diwani Adalat, were officially recognized. But the muftis tried also the more serious criminal cases, and in these their methods were their own. A Hindu convicted of murder was released on promising to become a Musalman; while another, condemned to death or forfeiture of property for slaying a Musalman, escaped scot-free by an appeal to the Hindu members of the council. Convicted culprits were often sent up to receive equally eccentric sentences from the mouths of the Nawab or his ministers. Thus a fine of Rs. 2 was once considered sufficient to punish a proved case of rape. Minor criminal cases were tried by the tahsildars, who had power to inflict one year's imprisonment, with a second year in default of payment of fine. The tahsil and police circle machinery of the British Government was retained. Except petitions for recording transfers of property, which the Nawab reserved for his own

* Some parts of the headquarters tahsil are not mentioned as belonging to either shire, and were perhaps governed directly by the Nawab

decs on all rent and even e suits were tied by the tahsildars with procedure resembling the English. It was by officials who had served under the English, indeed, that the administration of justice and revenue was chiefly worked. Three of the six tahsildars, and six of the eleven head police officers took service under the rebel government.

The land-tax was of course the chief nominal branch of the Nawab's revenue; but his rapacious subordinates allowed little of that tax to reach headquarters. He therefore imposed a heavy octroi duty, amounting in some cases to 7 per cent. of the value, on all articles imported into, or exported from, the principal towns. The income thus realized from Farrukhabad city alone was at the rate of two lakhs yearly; while that of Kamalganj was farmed for Rs. 700. The octroi of other towns was made over to the 'soldiery, perhaps because they were the only people who could realize it. At their instance wheat and *ghi* were exempted from duty, while the export of the former was forbidden, but no other objections against the tax were raised, and trade seems not to have suffered.* The excise revenue, which the Nawab reserved for himself, was less fruitful. The liquor shops were all farmed out separately; but, owing perhaps to the general insecurity, small sums only were realized. The cultivation of the poppy was interdicted, chiefly because the Nawab wished to sell to advantage the large stock of opium which he had plundered from the Government storehouse. The ferry revenue, if any, was left in the hands of the soldiers.

The army consisted of the 41st Native Infantry from Sitapur, some other levies raised at that station, and a few troops of local horse—in all 2,200 men. But to these the Nawab afterwards added six regiments of foot and five of cavalry. The artillery was a newly-raised force of 200 men, who were supposed to work 24 guns of various calibre. All recruits were armed with a musket or blunder buss, known as a "*sher-bacha*," and had also

* Writing of these duties just after the close of the rebellion, Mr. Lindsay says: "They show that a large revenue may be realized from this district, and probably in the same way throughout India, without the slightest murmur from the people and without apparently the slightest trouble. The newspapers of the time do not contain a single line of animadversion on their introduction, and they are spoken of at the present time as a very equitable tax."

swords and agricultural choppers (*garasa*), the latter very deadly weapons when properly used. The support of the Sitapur veterans was enlisted by ample pay; but that support once secured, it was found safe to pay the new levies when convenient. The Sitapur men introduced the forms and customs established by their English officers, and there was no parade on Sundays. Agha Husain was commander-in-chief. But his discipline can scarcely have been very strict, for not a man would follow him on a foray unless travelling expenses were paid in advance.

Such was the organization with which for seven months Tafazzul Husain attempted to govern the district. He succeeded very lamely; and it can only be said that he succeeded rather better than other rebel rulers in adjoining districts. Anarchy was at first general. Before the evacuation of the fort by the English, the turbulent Rajputs of Mahdewa and Beloi had already ventured to attack Kanauj. The attack was repulsed with loss, but several of the townspeople were slain. In the same month of June, pargana Bhojpur became the scene of a fierce conflict between Hindu and Musalman. It was a tract of Kurmi landholders; but the Jhojhas, descendants of Hindus converted to Islam, and the Bhattis, Pathan immigrants from Bhattiana, now sought to oust the Kurmis. The latter were, however, supported by their brother Hindus, the Gaharwar, Gaur and Nikumbh Rajputs, and these, collecting a large force, plundered and burnt the villages of the Musalmans. The Nawab had not at this time sufficiently secured his position to venture on interference. But towards the end of July, when the English had been disposed of, the severity of his governors effectually checked such internecine warfare. Highway robbery, however, continued to flourish exceedingly, and no one ventured to travel except in a large company. The chief dens of bandits were Chhibramau and Jaganua's tank, on the Grand Trunk Road; the Pathan strongholds of Shamsabad, Kaimganj and Mau, all in tahsil Kaimganj, and the castle of Thatia, where Pokhar Singh,* a descendant of the last Raja of Thatia, raised levies and collected artillery in completely independent fashion.

1 It will be seen that these centres of lawlessness were chiefly in the south of the district, where Muhsan Ali held sway. His tyranny lacked the vigour of that of Ahmad Yar, who realized revenue by bombardment, and fined the defaulting village Rs. 100 for every shot fired at its walls. Both however were tyrannical, and both entirely disregarded in practice the new constitution. They admitted the Nawab's supremacy, but appropriated his revenues; they raised no objection when the muftis went through the empty form of upsetting their decisions, but ruled independently of the courts. As both had under their command portions of the army, it was perhaps deemed imprudent to interfere with their arrangements. The troops, indeed, were the real governors of the district. Not long after the removal of the English an order arrived from the puppet Emperor at Delhi, confirming the Nawab as his Viceroy of Farrukhabad, and greatly praising the valour of the soldiers who had recovered that district. The Nawab hereon issued a proclamation commanding that the officers of the 41st, who had expelled the English, should be obeyed in all things. The 41st at once exercised their newly-acquired authority by forbidding the slaughter of cows, and ordering that the city refuse should be carried off on donkeys instead of, as heretofore, on oxen. On butchers, who had been in the habit of slaughtering these sacred beasts, a tax had been already levied by order of Ghulam Ali.

On the 19th July, barely a fortnight after the evacuation of the Fatehgarh fort, Havelock's force reoccupied Cawnpore. The news travelled swiftly into this district; and on the same day Ghulam Ali issued orders to the keeper of the Mau gate to admit into the city no fugitive troopers from that station.* But the order failed to prevent the influx of panic-stricken and revengeful mutineers, and it was to these new arrivals that an informant of Mr. Edwards attributed the massacres of the 23rd. The fact, however, that the relief of Lucknow diverted Havelock's attention from Farrukhabad seems to have checked the spread of apprehension among the rebels. Meanwhile a state of war and comparative lawlessness was beginning to have the usual effect on commerce and agriculture. The trade in iron from Chandausi;

* Mr. Robertson's judgement on Ghulam Ali already quoted.

sugar and cotton from Kasganj, and turmeric from Shahjahanpur was for some reason brisk ; but all other traffic with surrounding districts was at an end. The prices of all articles and commodities except wheat, whose exportation was, as we have seen, forbidden, doubled and trebled. The only traders who made a profit were the sellers of cotton fabrics, who happened to have large stocks in hand. When the soldiers were in want of money they of course plundered the merchants ; and Ghulam Ali, who was detected in underhand efforts to save the latter from exactions, was imprisoned. Nor did the agricultural classes fare better. Landholders were frequently ousted by armed plunderers like Pokhar Singh, who alone seized sixty-four villages. The autumn crop was promising wherever agriculturists could borrow seed to sow their land, but many broad acres were left fallow. In the neighbourhood of Farrukhabad, again, the plough-cattle were impressed by such sepoy as wished to send home their ill-gotten gains. And owing to the absence of these animals the potato crop is said to have completely failed.

For about two months after the recapture of Cawnpore the rebels were left undisturbed by further alarms. Knowing that Lucknow and Delhi were still in the hands of insurgents, the Nawab seems to have bestowed little thought on the garrison at Cawnpore. But the fall of Delhi on the 19th September entirely changed the prospect. British columns were set free to march down the Duab, and their advance was preceded by rebel fugitives. Down through this district and into that of Cawnpore hurried Bakht Khan with five regiments of mutineers and seven guns. But on the 19th October, just a month from the beginning of his retreat, he was defeated and hurled back into Farrukhabad by a portion of the Cawnpore garrison under Brigadier Wilson. Returning to Kanauj on the 23rd, he met Brigadier Greathed's column, which had been tracking him down country. An action ensued in which Bakht Khan's force, though supported by that of the Nawab, was almost annihilated. Greathed marched on to Cawnpore, while Bakht Khan fled to Farrukhabad.

The approach of Greathed's column had already, before Bakht Khan's defeat, encouraged the loyal to resistance. Muhsan Ali had never been able to extract any of the land-tax from

either the Rani of Tirwa or Chaudhr Jarchand. The latter had maintained regular communication with the English in Agra fort. He now showed himself capable of more active assistance; and when on the 15th Muhsan Ali attacked his castle of Bishangarh, he inflicted on that official a severe defeat. A few days afterwards Muhsan Ali was again worsted near Sikan-lampur by a party of mutineers retreating from Delhi with plunder which he attempted to seize. His reputation as a leader was now completely gone, and he was superseded by one Thakur Pande. The latter assumed the British title of Collector, and at once showed that his system of collection was severer than that of his predecessor. He proclaimed that residents within his jurisdiction who sought redress from other authority should be fined Rs. 100; while those seeking redress from himself must pay a present of Rs. 5, or be put in the quarter-guard.

Fugitive insurgents and British columns continued to find their way down country. At Farrukhabad arrived the Princes Khushak Sultan and Firoz Shah from Delhi, and the chief Walidad Khan from Bulandshahr. On the 23rd November Lucknow was recaptured, and the rebels of the middle Duab must have felt that their own turn for chastisement was not far off. But on the 1st December, the Nawab's troops, five thousand strong, invaded Etawah in order to annex that district. The attempt was successful, and Murad Ali was appointed governor of the new acquisition. He failed however to collect sufficient revenue to pay expenses, and was opposed by local soldiers of fortune. Nor was he destined to remain long. On Christmas day Brigadier Walpole's column reoccupied Etawah, some ten days only after the Nawab's force had been beaten out of Etah by Brigadier Seaton's victories at Gangan and Patiali.

Isolated as they now were the Farrukhabad rebels must have bidden farewell to hope. Oudh and Rohilkhand were, it is true, still more or less in rebellion; but between those provinces and Farrukhabad rolled the Ganges, on which most of the shipping had been destroyed. The surrounding districts on this side of the river were all reoccupied by British troops; and up the Grand Trunk Road was marching an army under the British Commander-in-Chief. The Nawab's advisers resolved to send

their whole available force as a forlorn hope to oppose the passage of the Kali Nadi. The troops were marched out to Khudaganj, but were routed by Sir Colin Campbell on the 2nd January. Collector Thakur Pande was slain and the surviving rebel leaders fled back to Farrukhabad. The Nawab, Prince Firoz Shah, and others, crossed the Ganges and found a temporary refuge at the court of Khan Bahadur Khan at Bareilly. On the 3rd January, the British troops entered Fatehgarh, and British authority was once more established on this side of the Ganges.

East of that river tranquillity was not restored until some months later. Lucknow was again beset by rebel armies, and it was Sir Colin Campbell's intention to march again to its relief across the Ganges and Ramganga, through this district and Hardoi. But his passage of the Ramganga was so hotly opposed at Bichpuria in Amritpur that he returned to Fatehgarh and Cawnpore, crossing into Oudh from the latter. Before his departure from this district it had been invaded by the rebel army of Budaun. Reinforced by a contingent from Bareilly, the rebel general, Niyaz Muhammad, on the 18th January, crossed the Ganges at Surajpur and entered pargana Kampil. Here he encamped a day or two at Thana Khar, venturing, when he found no prospect of immediate opposition, into the neighbouring pargana of Shamsabad West. But at Shamsabad he was on the 27th surprised by Brigadier Hope Grant, whom the Commander-in-Chief had detached against him. He was utterly routed with the loss of both guns and baggage.

Action
Shams-
abad.

But the presence in Shahjahanpur of Muhsan Ali and other rebels still prevented the pacification of the trans-Gangetic parganas. Early in April their forces, being massed on the Shahjahanpur border, were considered within striking distance; and Brigadier Seaton, who was then at Fatehgarh, marched out on the 7th to oppose them. At Bangaon in Shahjahanpur he inflicted on them a defeat which enabled the British officials to reoccupy the Aligarh tahsil. But that tract was harassed by constant raids until May, when the capture of Bareilly showed the rebels of Rohilkhand that further resistance was hopeless.

Aligarh
tahsil
occupied

d The last rebel incursion took place towards the end of that month. On the 23rd, Kalpi in Jalaun had fallen, and about 3,000 mutineer fugitives of all arms fled across the Janna into Etawah. From Etawah they hurried into this district, which they traversed from north to south, and quitted by way of Surajpur ghat. They travelled speedily and quietly, plundering and burning only when chance threw an easy opportunity in their way. At Kaimganj they halted for three hours, fruitlessly besieging the tahsil in the hope of robbing its treasure. Fategarh was too close for them to delay longer, and they hastened on across the Ganges.

Imagining that his case fell under the general proclamation of amnesty, Tafazzul Husain surrendered himself in January 1859, and was tried on the double charge of treason and murder. Convicted and sentenced to death, he pleaded Major Barrow's promise that, if not personally concerned in the murder of Europeans, he might surrender without apprehension. Major Barrow was a Special Commissioner for the trial of rebels; and though his promise was condemned and disavowed by Government, that promise was not disputed. The Governor-General therefore suspended capital sentence on condition that Tafazzul Husain immediately quitted British territory for ever. Shipped to Aden, and sent across the Arabian frontier in the direction of Mecca, he was warned that if ever again he set foot within British jurisdiction, the sentence of death would be carried out. While the rights of other parties, not rebels, were of course declared intact it was held that between him and the British Government the treaty of 1802 was cancelled. The castle in which he had lived was razed to the ground and its site is now occupied by a tahsil and town hall. Another of the rebel leaders, Niyaz Muhammad, for many years evaded apprehension by a wandering life, in the course of which he several times visited Mecca. Taking service at last with the Nawab of Junagarh, he in 1872 came with that chief to Bombay, where the Governor-General was staying. He was recognized, arrested, tried, and condemned to death. But before the High Court it was pleaded that as a subject of the Rampur State he had owed no allegiance to the British Government. The Penal Code, which makes the waging of war against the Sovereign an offence, irrespective of the nationality

of the accused, was not in force at the time when Niyaz Muhammad had taken part in the rebellion; and, dissenting from his brother Judges, the Chief Justice held that the plea was good. The judgement on Niyaz Muhammad was confirmed by a majority; but in view of this plea the Court commuted his sentence to transportation for life.*

* Report on the Administration of the North-Western Provinces, 1872-73, paragraph 6.

GAZETTEER
OF
FARRUKHABAD.
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DIRECTORY.

GAZETTEER

OF

FARRUKHABAD.

DIRECTORY.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Aligarh ..	177	Kuan Khara ..	22
Aligarh tahsil ..	177	Madaupur ..	23
Allahganj ..	181	Mau Rashidabad ..	23
Allahnagar Barhapur ..	182	Mianganj ..	23
Ameethi ..	182	Miran-ki-Sara ..	23
Amela ..	182	Muhammabad ..	23
Amritpur ..	182	Muhammabad pargana ..	23
Amritpur pargana ..	183	Nanji ..	23
Ataipur Jadid ..	184	Nawabganj ..	23
Auser ..	184	Nimkarori ..	23
Bhojpur ..	184	Pahara pargana ..	23
Bhojpur pargana ..	185	Paramungar pargana ..	23
Bholépur ..	185	Pithkaur ..	24
Bishangarh ..	186	Pipargan ..	24
Chhibramau ..	186	Pithnapur ..	24
Chhibramau pargana ..	188	Raushanabad ..	24
Chhibramau tahsil ..	188	Rodsia ..	24
Daipur ..	192	Saketpur pargana ..	24
Farrukhabad ..	192	Sakrawa ..	24
Farrukhabad tahsil ..	199	Sakrawa pargana ..	24
Patehgarh ..	204	Sankisa Basantpur ..	24
Gursahaiganj ..	206	Saurikh ..	25
Indaigarh ..	207	Saurikh pargana ..	25
Jahlabad ..	207	Shamsabad ..	25
Jasora ..	208	Shamsabad East pargana ..	25
Kaimganj ..	208	Shamsabad West pargana ..	25
Kaimganj tahsil ..	210	Singhrampur ..	25
Kawalganj ..	214	Talgam ..	25
Kampli ..	215	Talgam pargana ..	26
Kampil pargana ..	218	Thatia ..	26
Kanauj ..	217	Tirwa ..	26
Kanauj tahsil and pargana ..	227	Tirwa tahsil ..	26
Chauranagar ..	232	Tirwa pargana ..	26
Chakhatmau pargana ..	232	Yakutganj ..	26
Chudaganj ..	233		

DIRECTORY.

[*Aligarh Tahsil.*

ALIGARH, *pargana AMRITPUR, tahsil ALIGARH.*

This village, in 27°34'N. and 79°45'E., stands about a mile west of the metalled Rohilkhand Trunk road, and eight miles north-north-east of Fatehgarh. At some distance east and west of it respectively flow the Ramganga and the branch of that river known as the Nasa. The population, which in 1865 was 1,227, had fallen in 1872 to 820, and in 1901 to 713, mostly Kachhis. The village itself is small and squalid, but it is the head quarters of the tahsil which bears its name. The tahsil building is a handsome quadrangle, protected by square bastions, containing the police station as well as the tahsili proper. Near by are a masonry sub-post-office and a cattle-pound. The tahsil head quarters were transferred hither from Amritpur after the destruction of the buildings and records at the latter place in the Mutiny. In 1867 the head quarters were removed to Muhammadabad, across the Ganges; but the old arrangement was restored two years later. A market is held here on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The exceptional unhealthiness of the village is as usual ascribed to unwholesome drinking-water.

ALIGARH *tahsil.*

The three parganas of Amritpur, Khakhatman and Paramnagar which make up the Aligarh tahsil lie to the east of the river Ganges, which separates them from the rest of the district. On the north the tahsil marches with tahsil Jalalabad of the Shahjahanpur district, on the east and south-east with parganas Shahabad and Bilgram of the Haidoi district, while across the Ganges on the west and south-west lie the Kaimganj and Farrukhabad tahsils of this district. The tahsil contains 221 villages, of which 111 are alluvial, divided into 464 mahals, and covers an area, including the alluvial mahals, of 116,167 acres, or 181·51 square miles.

The tahsil is entirely *tarai* or lowland in character, and the water level is everywhere high, irrigation with the *dhenkli* being universally practicable. The Ganges flows along the western border and the Ramganga traverses the east and centre, and each has numerous tributaries and connecting channels. As both these rivers are liable to severe floods the proportion of the tahsil which is absolutely safe from inundation is extremely small, and most of it is constantly subject to either alluvion or diluvion. But while the Ganges confines itself to fairly steady erosive action the Ramganga is continually changing its bed. The alluvium of the Ramganga is as a rule both deeper and richer than that left by the Ganges. A village which has been cut away by the latter river is invariably a poor village, with a thin stratum of soil overlying a thick layer of sand, and it is not till the river has left it alone for a good many years that the quality of the soil improves. In addition to the wells, which are almost invariably earthen, lined with *arhar* and *arhusa* stalks, there is a considerable number of small tanks which afford one watering to the crops in their vicinity. But, as a rule, the normal winter rains are sufficient for the ordinary crops without artificial irrigation, especially for those in the rich Ramganga alluvium. In this soil an excess of the winter rains causes the crops to run to stalk at the expense of the ear, and in the tahsil as a whole waterlogging is a far more serious danger than drought.

Of the total area 70,459 acres, or 60·4 per cent., have been cultivated on an average during the four years 1905-08, and 24,461 acres, or 20·8 per cent., were classified as culturable though not actually under the plough. This latter figure includes 1,225 acres under groves, and 2,989 acres of new fallow. Only 10,184 acres, or about one-seventh of the cultivated area, is artificially irrigated. The area tilled in the *rabi* largely exceeds that of the *kharif*, the former averaging 51,587 acres, and the latter 34,676 acres. Wheat, barley and gram are the main staples in the *rabi* harvest, covering between them over 78 per cent. of the *rabi* area. Poppy too is largely grown and accounts for 6·3 per cent. of the whole. In the *kharif*, *juar* and *bajra* are the most important crops, forming, by themselves and with *arhar*, 32·4 and 17·3 per cent. of the whole, respectively. Rice covers

5 060 aere., or 14·5 per cent., and maize 4,172 acres. Sugar-cane and *guar* grown for fodder are each about 4 per cent. The *raut* harvest is inconsiderable, averaging only 1,114 acres, and consisting chiefly of melons and vegetables. The double-cropped area is very large, amounting to 16,917 acres, or 24 per cent. of the whole cultivation.

The chief cultivating castes are Thakurs, Brahmans, Ahirs, Kisans, Kachhis and Chamars. There are very few Kurmis. The Kachhis are as usual the best cultivators, and the Thakurs and Brahmans are fairly successful, inferior to the Kisans but much above the Ahirs. In 1908, out of a total area of 74,023 acres included in holdings, 49·2 per cent. was held by occupancy tenants, 34·1 per cent. by non-occupancy tenants, 21·1 per cent. was cultivated by the proprietors themselves as their *sir* and *khudkasht*, and the remainder was held either rent-free or by ex-proprietary tenants. The gram-rented area is unusually large, amounting to 1,298 acres, mostly in very precarious land. The average rental incidence is Rs. 3·43 in the case of tenants-at-will, and Rs. 4·13 in that of occupancy tenants. The high figure for the latter and the small proportion borne by the occupancy area to the whole are to be explained by the fact that during the period of depression most of the inferior portions of the occupancy holdings were abandoned by the tenants, and the diminished remainder now consists only of the very best land.

Of the 464 mahals into which the tahsil is divided, 48 are held in single zamindari, 229 in joint zamindari, 69 in perfect *pattidari*, and 118 in imperfect *pattidari*. Thakurs are the principal proprietors, holding 71·8 per cent. of the total area of the tahsil. Brahmans hold 12·2 per cent., Musalmans 6·3, and Banias 3·3. The largest landlords are Musammat Phul Kunwar, widow of Kunwar Bahadur Singh, who owns five whole villages and shares in seven others in pargana Amritpur, paying Rs. 4,831 in land revenue; Raja Rukmangal Singh, who owns five whole villages and shares in eight others in pargana Paramnagar with a land revenue of Rs. 2,850; and Babu Bhuratinda, son of the late Rai Bahadur Durga Prasad, who owns shares in 19 villages in Amritpur and Paramnagar and pays on them Rs. 3,449. The proprietary bodies are nearly all composed of small owners.

The population of the tahsil was 86,433 in 1872, 76,885 in 1881, 3,218 in 1891 and 86,848 in 1901. The falling-off in the first decade was due to the famine of 1877-78, while that in the next period is to be ascribed to the series of wet seasons which culminated in the floods of 1888. The recovery at the last census is to be attributed to favourable seasons and the return of the people who had migrated in hard times. Classified according to religions there were 81,421 Hindus, 4,237 Muslims and 190 of other sects. Of the total population, 69.6 per cent. relied entirely on agriculture for their living, as zamindars, tenants and field labourers, a higher proportion than was found in any other tahsil of the district, and 5,101 were supported by general labour.

There is no town in the tahsil, and though there are 16 villages with over 1,000 inhabitants, in none of them does the population amount to 3,000. The tahsil is self-contained and self-supporting, and such trade as there is is purely in agricultural produce. The only first class metalled road is that from Farrukhabad to Shahjahanpur, which crosses both the Ganges and the Ramganga. These rivers are not bridged, and in the rainy season a lengthy passage in a ferry boat is entailed at each. As regards the unmetalled roads, one from Hardoi to Shahabad traverses the southern half of the tahsil, and a branch from this runs across a ghat on the Ganges to Khudaganj in the Farrukhabad tahsil. Another runs from Amritpur through Rajepur in a south-easterly direction, crosses the Ramganga at Chakarpar-ghat, and continues on to Hardoi. Another connects Amritpur with Allahganj on the metalled road. Another starts from Ghatiaghat, where the metalled road crosses from the Sadr tahsil, and runs due north till it meets the Amritpur-Rajepur road. A short second class road connects the metalled road with the Hardoi-Shahabad road. Other roads are mere village tracks, a few of which are nominally repaired by the district board. Owing to the practically universal prevalence of floods, all unmetalled roads are very temporary in character. There are bridges of boats on the metalled road across the Ganges at Ghatiaghat and across the Ramganga near Rajepur in the cold and hot seasons, but all other crossings over these

ivers are dependent on the ferries at Amayapur, Allahganj, and Ashrafpur on the Ramganga, and Karanpur on the Ganges.

For purposes of civil jurisdiction the tahsil is divided between the Fatehgarh and Kaimganj munsifs, parganas Khatman and Paramnagar being included in the former and Amritpur in the latter. The arrangement is not convenient, and in the monsoon the Amritpur people can only reach Kaimganj by way of Farrukhabad after a tedious and difficult journey. There is now only one police station, which is situated at Aligarh. The third class stations at Allahganj and Paramnagar have recently been abolished. Part of the tahsil is included in the circles of Fatehgarh and Kamalganj.

ALLAHGANJ, *pargana* AMRITPUR, *tahsil* ALIGARH.

This small town, in 27°36'N. and 79°45'E., lies on the east side of the metalled Rohilkhand Trunk road, 13 miles north-north-east of Fatehgarh. About a mile off, on the west, flows the Ramganga river. The population was 1,527 in 1901. The older portion of Allahganj is a cluster of mud houses grouped round an oblong market-place which is shaded by some large trees. Through this settlement runs the Banya, a wide water-course passing down to the Ramganga, and unhealthily stagnant for a great part of the year. But since the construction of the Rohilkhand Trunk road the shopkeepers have deserted the old market for shops on either side of that highway. Old Allahganj has become a collection of ruins, and modern Allahganj is a street which has sprung up along the road. In the new part of the town has been built a *sarai* for native travellers. The other public buildings are the post-office, pound and upper primary school. There is also an inspection bungalow here under Public Works department control, and the encamping-ground is the first stage for troops marching from Fatehgarh to Shahjahanpur or Bareilly. A market is held on Mondays and Fridays, but the sales are confined to grain and cloth. The probability of deluvion precludes the construction of masonry buildings and accounts for the squalor of what is rather an important market town.

ALLAHNAGAR BARHPUR, *pargana* PAHARA, *tahsil*
FARRUKHABAD.

This important suburb, adjoining the south-eastern wall of Farrukhabad city, had in 1901 a population of 2,130. The main site lies east of the Fatehgarh-Kaimganj road, nearly three miles from Fatehgarh. The American Presbyterian Mission have established their local head quarters at Barhpur, and have a dispensary, boys' school, and wellbuilt bungalows for the missionaries. The distillery and a lower primary district board school are the only public institutions. Bricks for the city are manufactured in the local kilns.

AMETHI, *pargana* PAHARA, *tahsil* FARRUKHABAD.

This suburban village on the old cliff of the Ganges lies about a mile east of Farrukhabad in $27^{\circ}27'N$ and $79^{\circ}40'E$. A broad unmetalled road shaded by fine trees used to lead from Farrukhabad to Amethi by way of the Amethi gate; and a metalled road from the Kadiri gate now sweeps round to Ghatiahat through Amethi Kohna, and connects with the Rohilkhand Trunk road opposite the opium godown. The population at the 1901 census was returned at 1,497 for both the old and new villages. The village has now sunk into insignificance, and even the traces of the fort built by its founder Nawab Muhammad Khan are being rapidly obliterated. The village has a considerable reputation in the neighbourhood for the variety and quality of its mangoes, and its gardens supply young trees to the countryside.

AMOLAR, *pargana* TALGRAM, *tahsil* CHHIBRAMAU.

This village, in $26^{\circ}5'N$. and $79^{\circ}47'E$., stands on the *Walla* plain which surrounds Talgram, three miles south-east of that town, and contains eleven hamlets scattered over an area of 2,776 acres. The principal proprietor is Gur Bakhsh Chaube, who owns more than half the village. There is a ruined fort in the village.

AMRITPUR, *pargana* AMRITPUR, *tahsil* ALIGARH.

This large agricultural village, in $27^{\circ}34'N$. and $79^{\circ}38'E$, stands at the junction of several unmetalled roads, 14 miles

to the north of Fatehgarh. In 1901 the population was returned at 2,319, mostly Kachhis and Kisans, resident in the eleven outlying hamlets. The village has altered little since described in Mundy's Sketches. It lies "in a country spread for many surrounding leagues with one sheet of luxuriant cultivation, interspersed with beautiful and ancient mango-trees. In the rainy season this rich and fruitful tract is scarcely habitable or passable, the whole country between the Ganges and Bareilly (?) exhibiting one vast lake of water."

Amritpur contains a Vernacular Middle School, a branch lower primary school and a *sarai*. Its market is held on Mondays and Thursdays. It is said to have been founded by one Man Singh, who planted in this pargana a Gaharwar colony. Tradition ascribes the name to the excellence of the water, which was compared by the founder to *amrit*, or nectar. Before the Mutiny the village was the head quarters of a tahsil and a police circle, the buildings being located in the old fort which stood here. But after the destruction of the fort and the records by the rebels the tahsil was transferred to Aligarh, whither the police station was also removed some years later.

AMRITPUR *pargana*.

This, the largest pargana of the Aligarh tahsil, is bounded on the east by tahsil Shahabad of Hardoi, the Sendha or Perha watercourse forming in places the border. Its northern corner juts into tahsil Jalalabad of Shahjahanpur. It is bounded on the west by the Ganges and marches on the south-east with pargana Khakhatmau of the Aligarh tahsil. The total area is 74,203 acres, but as much as 45,743 acres was classed by the Settlement Officer as alluvial, and as such is subject to constant change. Bounded as it is by the Ganges, and traversed by the Ramganga, Amritpur is a network of waterways small and great; but, for all the prevalent moisture, the drinking-water is bad almost everywhere.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (1596) Amritpur has no separate existence. It then formed part of the Shamsabad pargana of Kanauj. But the great size of Shamsabad caused in later times its partition into several portions, such as Mihrabad which included

among other subdivisions *was* Bangaon and Islamganj. The latter sprang into existence when Islam Khan, an officer of the first Farrukhabad Nawab (1713=43), founded Islamganj on the site of Sakulmai. Passing into the hands of the Oudh Nawabs, Mirabad was in 1801 ceded to the British and included in the Bareilly district until 1813, when it was detached to form part of the new Shahjahanpur district. Bangaon and Islamganj then became separate parganas, but in 1829 were transferred to Farrukhabad and united into a single pargana with head quarters at Amritpur. In 1843 Bangaon was restored to Shahjahanpur, and Amritpur or Islamganj remained with its present boundaries as a portion of the Aligarh tahsil. The demands assessed on the pargana at successive British settlements of the land revenue will be found in the appendix.

ATAIPUR JADID, pargana KAMPIL, tahsil KAIMGANJ.

This village, in 27°35'N. and 79°26'E., is a suburb of Kaimganj. In 1901 it had 2,345 inhabitants, mainly Pathans. The village is situated on the high ground overlooking the Ganges tarai, two miles north-east of Kaimganj with a bazar lining both sides of the unmetalled road to Shamsabad. There is an upper primary school here, and the place is noted for the manufacture of *shakar*. This village has supplied and still supplies many good soldiers to the Indian Army. The provisions of the Village Sanitation Act (U. P. Act II of 1892) have been applied to the village.

AUSER, pargana and tahsil TIRWA.

This large village, in 26°50'N. and 79°53'E., had, at the 1901 census, a population of 3,140 persons. It contains an aided lower primary school, and is a mere collection of scattered hamlets with no other claim to mention but its size.

BHOJPUR, pargana BHOJPUR, tahsil FARRUKHABAD.

This village, in 27°17'N. and 79°41'E., stands prominently on the high cliff of the Ganges, six miles south of Fatehgarh, in the centre of a thickly wooded tract intersected by ravines. South of the village the Bagar Nala falls into the Ganges Bhojpur,

which had at the last census a population of 1,069 persons, is reputed to have once been a centre of trade but in these days is nothing more than an agricultural settlement. A large number of houses are built of the old bricks dug out of the ruined fort. An old Kayasth family, now represented by Ram Chandra and Ishri Parshad, owns this and fifteen neighbouring villages. Their ancestor was appointed kanungo in the reign of Akbar and received a *jagir*. The office of kanungo has been held by members of the family ever since, and Babu Ram Chandra is now an Honorary Magistrate.

BHOJPUR *pargana*.

This *pargana* forms a triangle at the south-east corner of the Farrukhabad or Sadr tahsil, its sides resting on the Ganges, on *pargana* Muhammadabad, and on tahsil Chhibraman. According to the recent survey the area of the *pargana* is 73,208 acres, or 114 square miles. Of the total area nearly 80 per cent. is cultivated, and half the barren land consists of the saline plains on the Muhammadabad border. From the time of Akbar until the establishment of the Bangash dynasty in 1713 *pargana* Bhojpur was the special charge of an *amil* or tax-gatherer subordinate to the governor (*nazim*) of Kanauj. During or after the reign of Alamgir (1658—1707) one Muhammad was *amil*, and founded the castle of Gadanpur Amil. Amanabad is perhaps named after his superior officer, the governor Aman-ullah. Bhojpur was one of the first *parganas* granted to Muhammad, first Nawab of Farrukhabad. He transferred the head quarters of the *amil* from Bhojpur town to Kamalganj; and in 1736, when he had assumed independence, detached *tappa* Pahara as dower-land for his wives. The demands assessed on the *pargana* at successive British settlements of the land revenue will be found in the appendix.

BHOLEPUR, *pargana* PAHARA, tahsil FARRUKHABAD.

This village, in 27°24'N. and 79°41'E., adjoins Fatehgarh on the north-west, and Nagla Dima, one of its hamlets, is included within municipal limits. The main inhabited site lies to the south-west of the Fatehgarh-Kaimganj road, about one mile from

the district courts and the Fatehgarh station of the Cawnpore-Achnera branch of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway and the quarters of the railway staff are actually in Bholepur. The population of the village was returned at 2,393 at the 1901 census. The Aiyā Samaj have here a flourishing primary school, which is aided by the district board. The proprietary body is large, the predominant caste being Kurmis. Wells are very numerous and cultivation is of a very high order, maize, potatoes and tobacco being cropped in rapid rotation. The trade in tobacco and potatoes is important and has given Bholepur a notoriety that extends beyond the borders of the province.

BISHANGARH, *pargana and tahsil CHHIBRAMAU.*

This small market town, in $27^{\circ}10'N.$ and $79^{\circ}35'E.$, stands at the intersection of two unmetalled roads six miles south-west of Chhibramau and twenty-three miles south-west of Fatehgarh. The population at the 1901 census was 3,291. The town contains a branch post-office, an upper primary and an aided lower primary girls' school, a cattle-pound, and a station of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. The latter is 518 feet above the sea level. There is also a castle, enclosed within a large wall and ditch, which was built by Mahanand, the first Chaudhri of the Bishangarh family. The market of Bishangarh is held on Sundays and Wednesdays.

CHHIBRAMAU, *pargana and tahsil CHHIBRAMAU.*

This town, the capital of the tahsil bearing its name, is situated on mile 206 of the Grand Trunk Road, 17 miles south-west of Fatehgarh, in $27^{\circ}9'N.$ and $79^{\circ}31'E.$ The population, which was 5,444 in 1872, had in 1901 reached 7,034. The site, which covers some 100 acres, lies on the lands of three villages, Chhibramau, Deolaranpur and Asalatnagar. The town itself consists of two portions, Chhibramau on the east and Mahmudpur on the west. The former is a quiet little country town of mud-built houses, standing a short distance off the Grand Trunk Road. It is occupied chiefly by Hindus, among whom priestly Brahmans are numerous. It has a little market of its own and an old

sarai, more or less dilapidated. East of the town, on the site of the old fort, is a handsome dispensary with commodious out-houses, which was erected by Mr. Growse when collector. But Chhibramau proper has been quite eclipsed by its western neighbour Mahmudganj. Originally a large village of mud houses, the latter profited greatly by the making of the Grand Trunk Road. It became an important halting-place for travellers and troops, and for about a quarter of a mile on either side of the highway has sprung up a well-built and busy street. Into this, near its western end, opens the *sarai* built by Nawab Muhammad Khan and restored by Mr. Lindsay. It is a large square enclosure entered by a wide gateway and surrounded within by good sized rooms of brick-work. The rooms are fronted by raised plinths and there is a fine well in the centre of the courtyard. Beyond the *sarai* on the west, and opposite the encamping-ground, stands another memorial of Mr. Lindsay. This is Lindsayganj, a wide oblong market-place entered at either end by a gateway. On each side stand excellent shops faced by shady trees. A market is held here on Tuesdays and Saturdays. North of the Grand Trunk Road, Mahmudganj extends into a large and rather unclean cluster of mud houses. Besides the buildings already mentioned, Chhibramau contains a police station, a tahsili school, a training schools for teachers, a pound, a post-office and a munsif's court-house. The last is, however, now vacant, as Chhibramau has been attached to the Kanauj munsifi. There are also two aided schools, one for boys and one for girls. The town is administered under Act XX of 1856 (Bengal Mofussil Police). The main source of income is a house-tax, assessed on 691 of the 1,563 houses in the town. The receipts from this tax in 1908 were Rs. 1,686, which gives an incidence of 4 annas and 2 pies per head of population, and Rs. 2-7-0 per house assessed. Police and conservancy absorb most of the income, but in 1908 some Rs. 400 were available for local improvements and public works. The provisions of the Village Sanitation Act (U. P. Act II of 1892) have been applied to the town. The legendary founder of the town was Raja Sumer Sah of Partabner in Etawah, great-great-grandson of the famous Prithvi Raja. His date is about the beginning of the

fourteenth century. The story runs that he here saw a she-goat successfully repel a wolf, and, impressed with the omen and the natural fitness of the site, he founded here a village which he called Chhanyaman or Little Goat Town. But the story is common enough elsewhere. Other etymologists trace the name to the number of thatched roofs (*chhuppar*) or chintz-printers (*chuppi*) formerly found in the town. The name is often pronounced Chhabraman, and sometimes Chhapraman. The town has been the head of a pargana since the days of Akbar. The tahsil head quarters were removed here from Talgram in 1844, the object of the transfer being to place the tahsil on the Grand Trunk Road. The offices were at first housed in the old fort at Chhibraman proper, but in 1856 they were installed in another building which has since been replaced by the present structure. There is also a good bungalow belonging to the Irrigation department just outside the town.

CHHIBRAMAU pargana

This, the most westerly of the two parganas which make up the tahsil of the same name, is bounded on the east by pargana Talgram; on the north by the Farrukhabad tahsil, from which it is severed chiefly by the Kali Nadi; on the west by tahsil Bhongaon of Mainpuri; and on the south by the river Isan, which divides it from the Tirwa tahsil. Its area is 123 square miles.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century and of Akbar's reign Chhibraman included the bulk of two *mahals*, both in the Kanauj *dastur* and both deriving their names from places in the modern pargana. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives Chhibraman a state rental of Rs. 33,053, Sikandarpur-Adhu one of Rs. 6,925. Under the Bangash Nawabs the two parganas remained separate, and it was not until the cession that they became merged into a single division bearing the name of Chhibraman. The demands assessed on the pargana at successive settlements will be found in the appendix.

CHHIBRAMAU tahsil.

Tahsil Chhibraman, comprising the two parganas of Chhibraman and Talgram, lies between the Farrukhabad tahsil on the

north and the Tirwa tahsil on the south. On the west it marches with pargana Kishni of the Mainpuri district, and on the east with the Kanauj tahsil, while the Ganges flows past its north-eastern corner, separating it from the Hardoi district. The total area of the tahsil is 153,559 acres or 239.93 square miles, and it contains 248 villages divided into 508 mahals.

The physical geography of the tahsil is simple. The Kali Nadi forms the northern and the Isan the southern boundary, while the Ganges touches the north-east corner, and the whole tract consists of *bangar*, or upland, and *tarai*, or the lowland adjoining these rivers. The Ganges *tarai*, which is marked off from the *bangar* by a steep abrupt cliff, is very small and contains no cultivation. The Kali Nadi and Isan *tarai* tracts are less clearly marked, the descent from the upland consisting usually of a slope scoured by watercourses. Their soils are similar in character with a thicker loam stratum than the Ganges *paper* soils, and resemble the *tarai* close to the cliff of the Ganges villages in other parts of the district. In the upland the soil is chiefly of the *usar dumat* variety, the *usar* being more general in the Talgram pargana.

Of the total area 103,110 acres, or 68.1 per cent., have been cultivated on an average during the last four years, 17.1 per cent. is classified as culturable though not under the plough; and only 14.7 per cent. is utterly barren. Of the area recorded as culturable, 6,137 acres, or nearly a quarter, is under groves, and another 3,829 acres are now fallow. Over 35 per cent. of the cultivation is irrigated, rather more than a quarter of the irrigation coming from the canals. There is a good deal of tank irrigation, but wells form the main source of supply. They last, as a rule, only from one to three years and have to be protected by twig linings to keep the sand strata in place. The *rabi* area considerably exceeds that of the *kharif*, the respective averages being 64,978 and 53,532 acres. Wheat is the chief staple in the *rabi*, occupying 26.7 per cent. of the area alone, and 27.1 per cent. along with barley and gram. The percentages of the other important crops are barley, 13.3; barley with gram, 16.3; poppy 7.8; gram alone, 2.4; and potatoes, 1.6. The potato cultivation is nearly confined to the neighbourhood of Sarai Pyag, where it

has been fostered by some enterprising Kurmis who import manure largely from Cawnpore and export their produce. Of the *kharij*, *juar*, alone and with *arhar*, forms 30.6 per cent.; *bagra*, alone and with *arhar*, 28.7 per cent.; maize, 17.1 per cent.; cotton, generally grown along with *arhar*, 7.3 per cent.; sugarcane 6 per cent.; and rice, 4.7 per cent. There is also a little *juar* grown for fodder. The *zaid* harvest covers some 1,769 acres on an average, and consists mainly of tobacco, with some melons and vegetables. The area bearing two or more crops a year is 14,670 acres, or 14.2 per cent. of the cultivated area, an unusually small proportion for the district.

The principal cultivating castes are Brahmans, Thakurs, Ahirs, Kisans and Kachhis, but most of the castes are represented. As usual, Kachhis and Kurmis pay the highest rent rates and are the best cultivators. The worst are the Ahirs, who rely largely on their stock. Brahmans and Thakurs are moderate all-round cultivators. In 1908, of the total holdings area of 109,764 acres, 59.2 per cent. was held by occupancy tenants, 28.1 per cent. by non-occupancy tenants, 11.8 per cent. was cultivated by proprietors as their *sir* and *khudkash*, the remainder being held either rent-free or by ex-proprietary tenants. The grain-rented area was 339 acres. The average rental incidence per acre is Rs. 4.25 in the case of occupancy tenants, and Rs. 3.63 in that of tenants-at-will. The higher rate paid by the former is explained by the fact that they own much the best land. The land revenue of the tahsil is now Rs. 1,90,982, a considerable reduction on the initial demand of Rs. 2,00,700 fixed at the 1870 settlement.

Of the 508 *mahals* of the tahsil, 140 are held in single zamindari, 235 in joint zamindari, 75 in perfect *puttidari*, and 58 in imperfect *puttidari*. The revenue-free area is 5,867 acres, and 770 acres are *nuzul*. Thakurs are the principal proprietors, though they do not predominate in this tahsil to the same extent as in others, holding only 30 per cent. of the whole. Brahmans own 26 per cent., Musalmans 15.6 per cent., and Kayasths 10 per cent. The most important proprietors are the Raja of Tirwa, who owns 22 entire villages and shares in 4 others, on which he pays Rs. 16,973 in land revenue; and Ali Hasan Khan.

Nurul Hasan Khan and the sons of Safia Jahan Begam, relations by marriage of the late Begam of Bhopal, who have acquired 20 villages and shares in four others on which they pay altogether Rs. 15,192 in land revenue.

The population of the tahsil rose from 121,497 in 1872 to 122,782 in 1881. The disastrous results of the wet seasons during the next decade brought about a decrease to 111,114 in 1891, but the subsequent recovery has been remarkable, and at the 1901 census the population was 126,705. Classified by religions there were 113,730 Hindus, 12,690 Musalmans, 6 Jains, 33 Christians, 194 Aryas and 2 Sikhs. Of the total population, 65 per cent. relied entirely on agriculture for a living, and 5,216 were supported by general labour. The remainder were engaged in the ordinary trades and avocations of an agricultural community.

The only towns in the tahsil are Chhibramau and Talgram, with 7,034 and 5,457 inhabitants respectively. There are 25 villages with populations exceeding 1,000, and in the larger ones fairs are held once or twice a week. There is no manufacture of any interest or importance, and the trade of the tahsil is entirely in agricultural produce. The railway passes through the north-east corner of the tahsil with a station at Gursahaiganj, but has not developed any large import or export trade, and the tahsil is self-contained and self-supporting. Altogether the means of communication are ample. The Fatehgarh-Cawnpore metalled road runs alongside of the railway from Khudaganj to Gursahaiganj, where it joins the Grand Trunk Road which passes through the town of Chhibramau into the Mainpuri district. From Chhibramau one second class road runs in a north-easterly direction to Farrukhabad, and another north-west to Kainganj, while a third leads to Saurikh in the south. From Talgram runs a second class road south-east to Tirwa, and another joins the Cawnpore-Fatehgarh metalled road near Malikpur. There are also several roads of inferior classes. The tahsil is included in the Kanauj munsifi, to which the Grand Trunk Road makes access easy. There are police stations at Chhibramau and Gursahaiganj, the circle of the latter including a portion of the Kanauj tahsil. For purposes of criminal and revenue

administration the tahsil is in the charge of a full powered officer on the district staff, assisted by the tahsildar at Chhibramau, and there is an honorary assistant collector for pargana Talgram.

DAIPUR, *pargana and tahsil* KANAUT.

This, the extreme south-eastern village of the district, stands on the Ganges cliff about 40 miles to the south-east of Fatehgarh. The population in 1901 was 1,449. Before the Mutiny the proprietors were influential Saiyids, but the village has almost passed out of their hands. The only claims of Daipur to notice are that it is the site of a ferry which conveys goods and passengers across to Haidor, and that there is here a ruined castle named Shergarh, whose foundation tradition assigns to Sher Shah Sur. This must be the Shergarh which is mentioned in chapter V as having been defended in 1567 by Akbar's foster-brother against the rebellious Ali Quli Khan.

FARRUKHABAD, *pargana* PAHARA, *tahsil* FARRUKHABAD

This city, which gives its name to the district, lies three miles north-west of the head quarters station Fatehgarh, in $27^{\circ}24'N.$ and $79^{\circ}40'E.$ About two miles from its north-eastern corner flows the Ganges. The population, which in 1847 was 56,300, had risen in 1853 to 77,967, and fallen in 1865 to 73,119. After this Farrukhabad and Fatehgarh were made into a single municipality and the combined figures which are alone accurate, give a total of 79,204 in 1872, which rose by 1881 to 79,761, but had fallen again in 1891 to 78,032, while the census in 1901 showed a sudden drop to 67,338. This depopulation is hard to explain, the climate and general health are good; food is plentiful; wages are high and labour is scarce; and yet the only reason assigned is a gradual exodus in search of employment. Classifying the inhabitants according to religion, there were 43,951 Hindus 18,603 Musalmans, 205 Jains, 141 Christians and 378 members of other religions. Enquiries as to the birthplaces of the population showed that 54,702 were born within the district, and 3,698 in neighbouring districts, so that the number of immigrants was less than 5,000. An analysis of the returns of occupations shows that 33,723 persons were

classified as dependants, and that of the bread-winners 22,562 were males and 6,993 females. The following occupations were the most important numerically : Government service (1,060), agriculture (3,138), barbers (197), indoor servants (537), washermen (207), water-carriers (335), sweepers (349), dealers in grain and pulse (532), oil-pressers (274), sweetmeat-sellers (343), cotton-weavers (844), calenderers, fullers and printers (877), piece-goods dealers (244), tailors (512), goldsmiths (436), brass-workers (343), iron-workers (215), carpenters (277), bootmakers (339), tanners (235), brokers (280), porters (238), weighmen (216), priests (227), labourers (3,006), beggars (366). The main ways in which women earned a livelihood were : by agriculture (1,384), as barbers (159), indoor servants (408), washerwomen (147), water-carriers (174), sweepers (283), flour-grinders (729), oil-pressers (133), vegetable-sellers (125), garland-makers (100), labourers (625), prostitutes (167) and beggars (231).

Farrukhabad is completely surrounded by a triangular embankment or wall, as high in some places as twenty feet, and from ten to twelve feet thick. This rampart is guarded at intervals by bastions, or rather flanking towers. It is now of course in great disrepair, and has at some points crumbled away till its value as a boundary is quite insignificant. The north side of the triangle was formed chiefly by the old Ganges cliff, which here runs due east and west. Neither at Farrukhabad nor for some distance higher up stream is that cliff so high and abrupt as in the lower reaches, where the river still runs, or has but lately receded from, beneath it. The action of the surface drainage, washing down towards the Ganges, has in time worn the bank from a precipice into a shelving declivity. On the other two sides of the triangle the wall was completely artificial. The shorter of these sides runs from north-west to south-east, and therefore faces the south-west. The other, which in length almost equals the northern, extends with a south-eastern aspect from north-east to south-west. The lengths of the three sides, measured along straight lines connecting the angles of the triangle, are south 2,947, south-east 1,875, and south-west 1,575 yards. These walls are entered by ten gates : the Ganga, Pain, and Kutb on the northern - the Mau at the meeting of the

northern and south-western ; the Jasmai and Khandiya on the south-western ; and the Madar, the Lal, the Kadiri and the Amethi on the south-eastern. There were originally twelve gates, but the Dhalawal and the Taram have been closed. The same remark applies partially to the Kutb, which is now no more than a narrow postern. Not that gates are any longer needed ; the dilapidated ramparts of the city give admission through many a gap. The existing gates are now merely the openings through which the principal roads pass. Thus, the Kadiri is traversed by a metalled road from Fatehgarh ; the Lal, by metalled roads from Fatehgarh and Ghatia-ghat ; the Madar by a metalled road from Cawnpore and Yakutganj and an unmetalled road from Chhibramau ; the Jasmai by a metalled road from Mainpuri and Pattiya ; and the Mau by a metalled road from Kaimganj and Mau-Rashidabad. Within the city itself the principal highway is that running from the Lal to the Mau gate, with a total length of about a mile. It is a remarkably busy street, flanked on each side by well-built shops. The space within the walls is by no means crowded with buildings. Of the total area of 1,859 acres some 975 only are occupied by houses. The remainder consists chiefly of fields, gardens and waste or tree-shaded plots let at high rents to market-gardeners who are attracted by the large stock of manure available. Much, however, of the land was granted revenue-free by the old Nawabs of Farrukhabad to their kinsmen, and some of it is still unassessed. The city is divided into 143 muhallas or wards, named for the most part after the guilds or traders who occupy them or local celebrities. The modern business quarters lie chiefly along the eastern half of the main street, and the streets branching therefrom at the Kotwali and the Tripolia. The fashionable quarters, with the finest houses and gardens, may be seen on the road to the Ganges, in the north-eastern corner of the city. All quarters alike have some share in the principal beauty of the city—its wealth of evergreen trees. The drinking-water is remarkable for its excellence ; and the firmness of the subsoil permits the construction of wells which require no costly masonry lining. “The native saying,” writes Mr. Irvine, “is true without exaggeration, that in Farrukhabad there is a well in every house.” The

natural drainage is very fair, as the site of the city slopes slightly but decidedly northwards towards the flats of the Ganges.

Several of the flights of bathing stairs built when the Ganges washed the foot of the old cliff are still extant; and the Bisanth-ghat of Bihari Lal may be quoted as the best specimen. But the river long ago deserted its ancient bed, and except in the rainy season these *ghats* are unfrequented. Two old buildings which are still in regular use are the *sarais* at either end of the main street, called, after the gates which they respectively adjoin, the Lal Sarai and the Mau Sarai. Both are commodious and cleanly kept quadrangles, moderately well shaded within by trees. The Mau Sarai was built by the Bibi Sahiba, and that of the Red gate by her husband Nawab Muhammad; but the latter building was in 1825 restored after his own fashion by the collector. It was part of Nawab Muhammad's original plan to attach *sarais* to five of the other gates; and the history of three of these still survives. The *sarai* at the Jasmai gate was half built and then demolished; on the site of that beside the Madar gate Nawab Muzaffar Jang built the existing Madar-bari; and that of the Amethi gate was demolished by the Nawab's descendants. Mosques and Hindu temples are both numerous, but none are of great antiquity or architectural merit. Neither the Bibi Sahiba's mosque, nor the spacious and lofty temple of the Sadhs, which stands in the Sadhwara, is an exception to this general rule. In Musalman tombs the city and its neighbourhood are rich. The Bihisht Bagh, or Garden of Paradise, in its extreme north-western corner, contains the sepulchres of Nawab Ahmad, his mother the Bibi Sahiba and several lesser celebrities. About half a mile further west at Nekpur Khurd, outside the walls, is the Hayat Bagh, or Garden of Life, the last home of the Nawabs Muhammad and Qaim Khan, of Nasir Khan, the governor of Kabul, and of others. Other shady memorials of past rulers exist in the Aish Bagh, or Pleasure Garden; the Pain Bagh, or garden below the fort; and the Naulakha, or grove of nine hundred thousand trees, all within the walls. The fort used to stand on the mound formerly occupied by the old Bamtela stronghold of Maud, which was in turn preceded, so legend avers, by a fortress of king Drupada. But all Nawab M

buildings on the mound were demolished either by his successors or by the British Government after the Mutiny, and the only relic of the Nawabs which has been left here is a little mosque. On the site of the old citadel now stand the tahsil and the town hall. The latter contains a library and a spacious reading room, the honorary magistrate's court-house, the municipal office and a handsome assembly room. The other public buildings are the Kotwali, on the north side of the main street about 400 yards from the Lal Darwaza; the dispensary and female hospital beside the Kadiri gate; the post-office, housed in a good building, along the road from the Tripolia with Railway station and the various schools. The principal market is Lindsayganj, the centre of the grain trade. It is a wide open square beside the Kadiri gate, bordered by well-constructed houses of brick or stone. Next in importance ranks the Sabzimandi, opposite to the Kotwali, where vegetables and cloth are sold. The Tripolia, crossed by the main road, is another business square, which by having four entrances bears its name.* A third bazar or ganj near the Lal Darwaza was built about a century ago by a collector named Grant, and is still in good preservation. A fourth, erected about eighty years back by the then collector, Mr. Wright, was once the principal market for *sarson* or mustard, but has now fallen to decay.

The trade and manufactures of the city have been dealt with in chapter II. The commercial history of the town is one of rapid growth and equally rapid decline. But at its best Farrukhabad was rather an emporium than a workshop. Brokerage and banking were the great occupations of its business men, and the actual manufactures bore but a small proportion to the goods which merely passed through the city. The usual course of trade was to import from Calcutta and re-export westwards. It was probably to its position on the frontier of British territory and at the same time on the banks of the Ganges that Farrukhabad was

* A tripolia or tripuliyā is a place with three gates or arches. This tripolia has four entrances and two gates, a third is said to have been removed some fifty years ago. But it may be doubted whether the tripolia was ever completed. When starting on his ill-fated expedition to Rohilkhand, Nawab Qaim Khan told Kamal Khan, *chela*, that it must be finished before his return. But the Nawab was brought back dead.

indebted for its commercial prosperity. With the advance of the frontier and the superseding of the river by improved means of communication that prosperity inevitably diminished.

The municipality of Farrukhabad-cum-Fatehgarh is administered by a board of 17 members. The District Magistrate is usually elected Chairman, the Joint Magistrate and Civil Surgeon sit *ex-officio*, twelve members are elected and two appointed. There are sub-committees for Finance, Public Works and Octroi, and each department is under the immediate control of a member. There is now a paid Secretary though for several years Rai Jwala Prasad Bahadur was Honorary Secretary. The financial position of the board is sound, with no liabilities, and assets in the shape of Government Paper of the face value of Rs. 20,000. The net income of the municipality is about Rs. 75,000, of which nearly Rs. 60,000 are derived from octroi. The incidence of direct taxation may be taken at a rupee a head.

A drainage scheme for the city, prepared by the Sanitary Engineer to Government, has recently been completed. A system of main drains with flushing tanks carries surface water and sullage to the low land to the north of the town. Here filter beds have been constructed where the sullage is purified before being sold to cultivators.

How Farrukhabad was founded by the Nawab Muhammad Khan, and how he named it after the emperor Farrukhsiyar has been related in chapter V. Standing on the old castle-mound where he afterwards built his citadel he had been greatly struck by the view, while his followers, shooting on the lowlands beneath the modern city, had been equally struck with the sport obtainable. When, therefore, the Nawab saw an opportunity of wresting the site from the Bamtelas, he seized it. Within the earthen walls of the city which he then began to build were included all Bhikampur and Deothan, besides portions of other villages. The Bamtelas, however, did not resign their ancient possessions without a struggle. They constantly attacked the rising ramparts, and effecting on one occasion an entrance through the Kuth gate, they were repulsed only with the aid of the Nawab's Gaur allies after great bloodshed. To prevent such dangers in future, Muhammad Khan stationed at each gate five hundred men and two guns.

inner gate. The new palace, as well as the old, is of square outline, and has low hexagonal turrets along the sides. It has a lofty watch-tower."

In 1749, after the defeat and death of Qaim Khan, the city was visited and annexed by Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh. Within a year it had been recovered by its old masters, the Bangash family, but only to be lost once more to the Oudh Nawab and his Maratha allies in 1751. In the following year the city and part of the district were restored to Nawab Ahmad Khan by a treaty, and till his death in 1771 the peace was undisturbed. In that year the emperor Shah Alam encamped outside it with intentions of annexation, but he was bought off, and a few years later the appearance of a British brigade at Fatehgarh opened a long reign of immunity from external foes, but not of internal order. In 1803, Lord Valentia writes that before the cession of the previous year, life was terribly insecure. "Murders were so frequent in Farrukhabad that people dared not venture there after sunset; and the workmen who came out to the cantonments always retired to their own houses during daylight."

Since the cession to the British the most important events have been the Maratha invasion of 1804 and the Mutiny, both of which have been already described.

FARRUKHABAD tahsil.

Tahsil Farrukhabad, or as it is commonly called, the Sadr tahsil, comprises the parganas of Shamsabad East, Muhammadabad, Bhojpur and Pahara, and is bounded on the east and north-east by the Ganges, which separates it from the Aligarh tahsil of the district; on the north and north-west by the Kaimganj tahsil; on the south-west by the Etah and Mainpuri districts; and on the south by the Chhibraman tahsil of this district. Excluding the area of cantonments, which is 1,034 acres, the total area of the tahsil is 215,574 acres, or 336.83 square miles. The tahsil is divided into 408 villages, sub-divided into 894 mahals, and its boundaries have been left unchanged for many years past except on the east where the Ganges has moved to some extent.

The physical features of the tahsil are determined by its rivers, which are the Ganges on the east, the Kali Nadi on the south, and

the Bagar Nala, used by the Canal department as a canal escape, which enters the pargana at about the centre of its northern boundary and flows through it, entering the Ganges about the centre of the eastern boundary. The soil throughout is divided into *tarai* or lowland, and *bangar* or upland. The Ganges *tarai* is not very extensive, and is separated from the *bangar* by a sharply defined cliff. Water is found everywhere near the surface, and irrigation is readily available when required. The soil is for the most part *papar*, i.e. a thin stratum of loam more or less mixed with sand overlying pure white river sand. As a rule this stratum is from two to four feet in thickness, but near the cliff the loam increases and consequently the rental value of the land. The Kali Nadi *tarai*, which is on the whole of better quality than that of the Ganges and has a thicker loam stratum, is from two miles to 200 yards in breadth and is also defined from the *bangar* by a sharp rise which is in some places almost a cliff, though it is in others only a long slope of poor soil intersected by water-courses which is known locally as *kachha* land. The water-level is lower than in the Ganges *tarai*, but irrigation from earthen wells is in places feasible. The Kali Nadi itself was formerly much used for irrigating its *tarai*, but since the floods of 1888 the bed of the river has deepened, and where before only one lift was required to raise the water to the level of the *tarai*, three are now usually necessary, and the increased cost limits the area irrigated. Both the Ganges and Kali Nadi *tarai* are completely submerged in time of high floods. The Bagar Nala has no regular *tarai*, the soil in its basin being for the most part a poor *bhur* very susceptible to variations in the rainfall. This river divides the *bangar* into two distinct tracts, one to the north-east, comprising the whole Pahara pargana, where the soil is mostly a stiff *dumat* of good quality, the other comprising the bulk of Bhojpur, Muhammadabad and Shamsabad East parganas. In this tract the soil adjoining the Bagar and the Kali Nadi *tarai* is generally a poor *bhur*, but the remainder of the watershed between the two rivers is a large level plain chiefly consisting of *dumat* of varying quality.

Irrigation in this tahsil is almost entirely from wells, only two villages receiving an appreciable amount of canal water

The Ganges *tarai* is irrigable throughout from shallow *kachha* wells, and that of the Kali Nadi from the river itself and occasionally from *kachha* wells in which the *dhenkli* is sometimes employed and sometimes the *charsa*. In the *bangar* tracts irrigation is generally from *kachha* wells, which last one to three years and can be constructed at a cost of about Rs 8. There is a little irrigation from the Bagar Nala, which is used as a canal escape, and in its immediate neighbourhood the water level is sometimes high enough to admit of the use of *dhenklis* but in most parts of the *bangar* the depth to water averages 22 feet. In all, 64,021 acres were recorded as irrigated at the settlement. During the four years 190—508 the average area cultivated has been 143,535 acres and there are 5,514 acres of new fallow. Groves cover 9,634 acres, and the barren area is 26,608 acres. The area tilled in the *rabi* always exceeds that of the *kharif*, the averages being 85,923 and 75,850 acres respectively. In the former harvest the most important crop is wheat, which occupies alone 31·2 per cent. of the whole area, and in combination with barley and gram another 26·7 per cent. Barley, alone and with gram, covers nearly 30 per cent of the whole, the two other staples of any importance being opium and potatoes, each of which makes up about 6 per cent. of the *rabi* harvest. In the *kharif* the principal staple is *juar*, grown for the most part along with *arhar*, which accounts for 35·8 per cent. of the whole, *bajra* taking the second place with 23·2 per cent. Maize is rising in popularity here as everywhere else and now occupies 19·4 per cent. of the *kharif* area. Rice, cotton and *juar* grown for fodder each of them cover rather over 2 per cent, and some sugarcane is grown, mostly in Bhojpur and Shamsabad East. The *zaid* harvest, which consists mostly of melons and tobacco, is of some importance and occupies an average area of 5,886 acres. The double-cropped area is now very large, amounting to 26,655 acres.

The chief cultivating castes of the tahsil are Thakurs, Kisans, Ahirs and Brahmans, of whom the Kisans are by far the best. The Thakurs and Brahmans are fair cultivators on a broad scale but the Ahir is a poor farmer and a most reluctant rent payer. Kurmis and Kachhis between them hold rather less land than the Brahmans. They are the chief exponents of high cultivation in

the tahsil. The Kurmi cultivates the treble-cropped land in the neighbourhood of Farrukhabad, and wherever he is found in the tahsil, there is sure to be a large maize-potato-tobacco *gauhan* tract. The Kachhis, who are found scattered all over the tahsil, do not adhere so strictly to this rotation, but also grow garden produce to a considerable extent. In 1908, out of a total area of 153,337 acres included in holdings, 48·2 per cent. was in the hands of occupancy tenants, 23·3 per cent. in those of tenants-at-will, and 21·2 per cent. was *sur* and *khudkasht*, the remainder being either rent-free or held by ex-proprietary tenants. Only 90 acres were held on grain rents. The average rental incidence is Rs. 4·21 for occupancy tenants, and Rs. 4·06 for tenants-at-will, but the former hold much the best land. The present revenue of the tahsil is Rs. 2,57,399, an increase of 8·22 per cent. on the Rs. 2,37,838 of the first year of the 1870 settlement.

The tahsil contains 894 mahals, of which 178 are held in single *zamindari*, 345 in joint *zamindari*, 152 in perfect *pattidari*, 174 in imperfect *pattidari*, and 45 in *bharyachara* tenure. The revenue-free area is 15,021 acres, and 2,547 acres are comprised in *nazul* land. Thakurs are the principal proprietors, holding 38·8 per cent. of the tahsil; 15·8 per cent. is owned by Musalmans, 13·5 per cent. by Brahmans, 11·3 per cent. by Kayasths, while Banias and Kurmis each own rather over 5 per cent. Smaller shares are in the possession of Mahajans, Ahirs, Kisans and Khatris. The principal Kayasths who have acquired land are Fatehgarh vakils and Saurikh money-lenders. Of the Banias the late Rai Bahadur Babu Durga Prasad, Government treasurer, was the largest purchaser. The most important Thakur landowner is the Rathor Rao of Khumsepur, who owns a small but valuable estate, consisting of 3 whole villages and shares in 15 others, with a land revenue of Rs. 5,614. The other Thakurs are all small owners and have as much difficulty in keeping their property in this tahsil as elsewhere. The high cultivation of the Kurmi requires such an enormous amount of capital that he is perforce in debt, and in a bad season has to part with his land to keep his head above water, to the gain of the Bania.

The population of the tahsil fell off from 256,216 in 1872 to 255,127 in 1881 and 244,896 in 1891 but at the 1901 census

showed a partial recovery to 249,635. The serious decrease in 1891 is to be ascribed to the deterioration caused to the *bhur* soil of the tahsil by the excessive rains which culminated in the floods of 1888. The density is 740 to the square mile, or excluding the urban area of Farrukhabad-Fatehgarh, 509. Classified by religions there were 213,220 Hindus, 35,128 Musalmans, 251 Jains, 951 Christians, 668 Aryas, 17 Sikhs and 117 Budhists. The principal Hindu castes are Ahirs, of whom there were 23,472, Chammars, 23,152; Rajputs, 22,960; Kisans, 21,074; Kachhis, 17,074, and Kurmis, 9,560. The Musalmans are chiefly Sheikhs, 11,401, and Pathans, 10,026, but nearly all the other castes found in the district are represented here in small numbers. Excluding the urban population, 61 per cent. of the inhabitants of the tahsil depend directly on agriculture for their living, as landlords, tenants, or field labourers. Of the rest, 15,537 were supported by general labour, some 10,000 were engaged in industries connected with the manufacture of cotton, while the rest followed the trades and pursuits usual in an agricultural community.

The only large town is the city of Farrukhabad-cum-Fatehgarh, but there are 44 villages and small towns with a population exceeding 1,000. Apart from the capital, the trade of the tahsil is almost entirely in agricultural produce, potatoes forming an important item. Communications are excellent, as is natural in the tahsil which contains the head quarters of the district. The Cawnpore-Achnera railway has stations at Khudaganj, Kamalganj, Fatehgarh and Farrukhabad, and the new branch of the East Indian Railway which runs through the very middle of the tahsil, has stations at Ugarpur and Muhammadabad as well as at Farrukhabad. There are numerous first and second class roads. The Farrukhabad-Cawnpore road runs alongside the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway from Farrukhabad through Yaqutganj, Kamalganj and Khudaganj to Gursahaiganj, whence it goes direct to Cawnpore. A first class road runs in a north-westerly direction from Farrukhabad to Kaumganj. The Farrukhabad-Mainpuri first class road runs beside the East Indian Railway through Muhammadabad and Madanpur into the Mainpuri district, where it connects with the Grand Trunk Road at Bowar. From Fatehgarh

(Ghatiahat) another first class road runs in a north-easterly direction to Shahjahanpur and Bareilly. One second class road runs from Farrukhabad southwards through Chhibramau and Saurikh in the Tirwa tahsil into the Krawah district. Another second class road traverses Muhammadabad, running in a north-westerly direction to Surajpurhat in Budaun and south-easterly to Bilhaur in Cawnpore, passing through Chhibramau. A third second class road connects Farrukhabad with Etah. A bridge of boats is maintained at Ghatiahat in the charge of the Public Works department and other ferries over the Ganges are kept up by the district board at Shikampur, Gola and Singhirampur. On the Kali Nadi there are ferries at Darora, Sahespur and Kumhau.

The tahsil is in the charge of a full-powered officer on the district staff assisted by the tahsildar. Original civil suits are heard by the munsif of Fatehgarh. There are police stations at Farrukhabad, Fatehgarh, Muhammadabad and Kamalganj, as well as an outpost at Colonelganj in the cantonment area. But the police circles are not coterminous with the tahsil boundaries, a few villages to the north being included in the Nawabganj circle, while the Fatehgarh and Kamalganj circles overlap into the Aligarh tahsil.

FATEHGARH, *pargana and tahsil* FARRUKHABAD.

This, the head quarters of the district, lies on the right bank of the Ganges, in $20^{\circ}22'N.$ and $79^{\circ}41'E.$ The name of Fatehgarh, which belongs historically to the old fort, has now been extended to the European settlement which is situated within the limits of the villages of Bholepur, Bhakramau, Husainpur and Amethi. To the north of the station stands the old fort, overlooking the wide bed of the Ganges; southward on the high bank are situated the houses of the officials. In the centre of the station is a large parade ground, flanked on the north by the barracks and on the south by the native town. With the exception of the fort, the only building of any importance is the All Souls' Memorial Church, situated north-west of the parade ground. This beautiful church, consisting of chancel, central and side aisles with a tower surmounted by a graceful spire was

built out of funds raised by a tax on the mutinous citizens of Farrukhabad who had sacked and razed the old church in 1857. The churchyard contains the well into which the bodies of the victims of the massacre were thrown by the mutineers. It has now been closed, and above it rises a handsome cross of Agra stone. The fort stands on the high river bank and is surrounded on the landward side by a deep moat crossed by a drawbridge. The walls are of mud and were originally flanked by twelve bastions. The station hospital was formerly the house of Hakim Mahdi Ali, a minister of the King of Oudh. Opposite to it is the Club, and further south along the Bareilly-Cawnpore road are the dak-bungalow and head post-office on the margin of the parade ground. The bazar extends for nearly a mile on either side of this road. The native town contains no building of any substance, and an air of dilapidation is its most striking feature. West of the bazar and overlooking the parade ground is the dispensary. The west tower and central aisle of the old church destroyed in the Mutiny were in 1904 rebuilt and converted into a ward attached to this building. At the corner of the parade ground is the statue of Queen Victoria, in bronze. Beyond the dispensary is the racquet court and a newly built Public Works department bungalow, while across the road on the parade ground is the polo ground. Retracing our steps and leaving the native town on our right we pass the Company Garden, behind which is the Lal Sarai, a spacious courtyard of modern construction. The next building to the right is the aided school, built on Government land by public subscription aided by a grant from the municipality. On the opposite side are the police lines and hospital, the District Board office, and the court-houses of the District Magistrate and the Judge. The situation is univalled, but the inroads of the river are reducing the space which is already inconveniently small. Beyond is the residence of the Collector, the interior of which retains the artistic decorations executed by Mr. Growse.

Fatehgarh has no trade worth the name. The bazar merely exists to supply the needs of the official population. To the south west of the town lies the railway stat on on the Cawnpore-Achnera loop of the Rajputana-Malwa w gauge line. The

Rohilkhand Trunk Road leaves the Grand Trunk Road at Gursahaiganj and after passing through the Fatehgarh bazar and winding round the parade ground, crosses the Ganges at Ghatia-ghat, where a bridge of boats is maintained except in the rains. Good metalled roads run through Bewar to Mainpuri and through Farrukhabad to Kaimganj. The new branch of the East Indian Railway from Shikohabad to Farrukhabad gives Fatehgarh access to the broad-gauge system.

When in 1777 Farrukhabad became tributary to Oudh, the latter power stationed at Fatehgarh the British brigade whose services had been lent to it by the Company. This was the origin of the cantonments. Until its cession to the Company in 1802, Fatehgarh remained a military station of considerable importance. At cession it became the headquarters of a Governor General's Agent and of the Board of Commissioners for the ceded provinces. At Farrukhabad, as already mentioned, life was insecure, and the civil officials therefore caused their subordinates to live at Fatehgarh, thus creating the civil station. The fort was besieged in 1804 by the Marathas under Holkar, but Lord Lake's arrival raised the siege after a few hours' duration, and the only damage effected by the invaders was the burning of the cavalry stables and a few buildings in cantonments. The force at Fatehgarh had by this time dwindled down to a few native troops; but in 1818 its military status was again raised by the establishment of a gun-carriage factory. Between this and the Mutiny the annals of the station were important only from the civil point of view. The Board of Commissioners and the Agent were removed, and their place was taken for a time by a Commissioner. The history of the Mutiny has already been related in chapter V, and the subsequent history of the station is uneventful.

GURSAHAIGANJ, *pargana* TALGRAM, *tahsil* CHHIBRAMAU.

This village lies on the Grand Trunk Road, in 27°9'N. and 79°48'E, 20 miles to the south-east of Fatehgarh at the point where the Rohilkhand Trunk road branches off to the north. The village which has a population of 1428 appears in the revenue papers under the name of Birahmpur. The village

contains a railway station on the Cawnpore-Achnera Railway, and also a sub post-office, a cattle-pound, and an upper primary school. The military encamping-ground is a fine open site, lying in the fork of the two main roads. South of it is a police station, and to the south-east is a large Public Works department inspection bungalow. In the immediate vicinity is an Opium rest-house, this being one of the centres of that department for settlements and weighments. The bazar itself is insignificant, and the markets held on Monday and Thursday are no longer important.

INDARGARH, *pargana SAURIKH, tahsil TIRWA.*

This village takes its origin from a castle whose remains may still be seen. It was founded towards the close of the eighteenth century by the notorious tax-farmer Udaichand Tiwari; and around it sprang up the existing cluster of shops. In the bazar are located a post-office, a cattle-pound and an upper primary school, and the Irrigation department have a small bungalow outside. The castle was in 1904 still owned by Lalta Prasad, ex-naib of Bishangarh, and afforded a refuge to the dacoits who overran the tahsil in the years 1900—02. The village lies in $27^{\circ}57'N.$ and $79^{\circ}47'E.$

JALALABAD, *pargana and tahsil KANAUF.*

This large village, in $27^{\circ}47'N.$ and $79^{\circ}45'E.$, is situated on the Grand Trunk Road, 23 miles south-east of Fatehgarh, and has a population of 2,793, mostly Hindus. The village contains a small Public Works department bungalow, a branch post-office, and a military encamping-ground, the latter the property of the proprietary body. The district board has recently built a fine cattle-pound and a substantial building in which a large vernacular middle school is well housed; the two elementary classes being relegated to an old school house in the bazar. There is also a promising girls' school which is aided by the district board. Markets are held on Tuesday and Friday in each week, but the trade is unimportant. The provisions of the Village Sanitation Act (U P Act II of 1892) have been applied to the village.

JASORA, *pargana* and *tahsil* KANAUJ.

This little village, in $27^{\circ}10'N.$ and $79^{\circ}54'E.$, is of no importance except as giving its name to a railway station on the Cawnpore-Achnera Railway. The station is actually in the neighbouring village of Fatehpur which lies on the Grand Trunk Road, 25 miles south-east of Fatehgarh.

KAIMGANJ, *pargana* KAMPIL, *tahsil* KAIMGANJ.

This town, the headquarters of the *tahsil* of the same name, stands on the high cliff which once formed the bank of the Ganges, in $27^{\circ}30'N.$ and $79^{\circ}21'E.$ About a mile to the north, below that cliff, flows the Burhanga. Kaimganj lies 22 miles to the north-west of Fatehgarh, at the termination of a metalled road. The population, which in 1865 was 8,650, had in 1872 risen to 10,323 and in 1901 to 10,369.

Kaimganj is a long and narrow town, with an inhabited site of 149 acres. It has several quarters or *muhallas*: but consists chiefly of one wide metalled street, measuring about a mile from west to east. From this street, which is called the bazar, branch many narrow unmetalled lanes. At its eastern end stand the *tahsil*, the police station, the *tahsil* school, the *munsifi*, the dispensary and the cattle-pound. The *munsifi* is a new building, but the *tahsil* and police station are contained in a single quadrangle on a plan similar to that obtaining at Aligarh, and are cramped and antiquated. On the west the bazar ends in a market-place named, like so many others in this district, after its founder Mr. Lindsay. Lindsay ganj is a square enclosure entered by a wide gateway, and beyond it again on the west is another shady square used as a fruit and vegetable market. The only building of note on this side of the town is the *saran*. None of the public or private buildings are at all imposing, and the town has rather a squalid appearance, though the sanitation is fair and the roads and lanes are well kept. The town contains a library built by Chaube Parmanand and the following educational institutions:—a secondary vernacular district board school, a lower primary district board school and a lower primary district board girls school.

Just before reaching its western end, the bazar crosses the Kharoiya water-course, which discharges into a tank a short distance north of the road. Into this tank, which is about 200 yards square, flows most of the surface-drainage of the town. The reservoir thus formed is used for irrigation; and the miscellaneous manure swept out of the town is devoted to the enrichment of the surrounding land, which is very highly cultivated. Fields bearing three crops yearly extend up to the very walls of the houses; and Kaimganj is noted for its mangoes, tobacco and potatoes. Of the outlying villages and suburbs which surround Kaimganj some deserve a brief notice. Such is Mau-Rashidabad, now little more than one vast tobacco-field, but formerly the home of the Mau Pathans and the cradle of the Bangash dynasty. The dilapidated domed tomb of its founder, a building of stone inlaid with colours, may still be seen at Kaimganj. Such, too, are Old and New Ataipur, Pathan settlements which play a not unimportant part in the district history of the eighteenth century. Such is Chaulauli, in spring the scene of a religious fair of some importance. Two similar gatherings are in the same month held in Kaimganj itself; the first at the temple of Parasurama, and the second at the shrine of Laljidas.

Markets are held twice weekly, on Saturday and Tuesdays. Kaimganj has superseded Shamsabad as the town on the main route from Farrukhabad to Kasganj and Budaun, and to this fact perhaps owes its commercial prosperity. The profession and habits of its Afghan population fostered in former times a manufacture of swords and matchlocks. But the only trace now left of this industry is the trade in ordinary knives, and in the nut-crackers, or rather nut-cutters (*sarota*) used in paring the betel nut. Several kinds of cloth are manufactured, one for turbans, another (*jhuna*) for the fine apparel of women, and a third (*mitha*) for stronger and coarser garments.

Kaimganj is now a notified area and no longer under the provisions of Act XX of 1856. The main source of income is a house-tax, assessed on 1,121 of the 2,081 houses in the place. The gross yield of the tax in 1908 was Rs. 2,559, which gave an incidence of three and eleven pias per head of population and of Rs. 2-4-6 per house. Police and co cy

form the principal items of expenditure, any surplus being devoted to local improvements and public works. The provisions of the Village Sanitation Act (U. P. Act II of 1892) have been applied to the town.

Kaimganj has a station on the Cawnpore-Achnera Railway, connected with the town by a metalled approach road. There is a comfortable Public Works department inspection house and an opium weighment shed not far from it.

Kaimganj was founded in 1713 by Muhammad, first Nawab of Farrukhabad, who named it after his son Kaim. The town was built on the lands of four surrounding villages, Chauli, Mau-Rashidabad, Kuberpur and Subhanpur; and beside it was built a fortress. It has ever since been a stronghold of Pathans. On its cession to the British in 1802, it became the headquarters of a pargana, including villages taken from both Kampil and Shamsabad which had formed the *taluka* of one Jahan Khan Afridi. But in 1805, when the Pathans of the neighbourhood were found to be taking service with the Pindari freebooter Amir Khan, they were kept at home by the simple expedient of granting the *taluka* on a light revenue to their chieftain Sirdar Khan. Many Pathans still hold small plots, assessed or revenue-free, around the town. Many have taken service under the British Government, or in the cavalry corps of native states. During the Mutiny the tahsil building was ineffectually besieged for a few hours by fugitive insurgents from Kalpi. Pargana Kaimganj was annexed to Kampil at the opening of the last revenue settlement.

KAIMGANJ Tahsil.

Tahsil Kaimganj is the most northerly tahsil of the district. It is bounded on the north by parganas Usehat of Budaun and Jalalabad of Shahjahanpur, the river Ganges being roughly the dividing line, though the changes in its channel make it an inexact boundary. On the east is the Aligarh tahsil and on the south the Farrukhabad tahsil, while parganas Azamnagar and Nidhpur of the Etah district form the western boundary. The total area of the tahsil, including the alluvial villages, is 233,329 acres, or 364.58 square miles. It is divided into two parganas,